THE POLITICS OF PHILANTHROPY AND RACE RELATIONS: THE ~~SOUTH AFRICAN~~ JOINT COUNCILS OF SOUTH AFRICA, C.1920-1955

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This thesis is submitted to the
School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,
in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy
1991

Grahamstown, 1991

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ABSTRACT

This thesis looks in detail at the activities of the joint councils - inter-racial organizations involved in the fields of 'race relations' and 'constitutional' protest politics particularly during the interwar years. The first joint council was established in Johannesburg in 1921, and by the 1930s, councils had been formed in virtually all the major urban centres in South Africa, as well as in a number of smaller towns and rural centres. For reasons of narrative cohesion, as well as the dictates of space, the period covered corresponds with the individual history of the Johannesburg Joint Council, the largest and most influential of these agencies. The Johannesburg body ceased operations in 1951, and in 1955 its funds were transferred to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The joint councils are usually seen as having been closely associated with white liberal thought and practice, especially during the interwar period, and one of the chief aims of this study is to explore this assumption. Was the social reformism of the councils essentially 'white' liberalism or was it a more complex amalgam of liberalism and essentially conservative philanthropic practices? A related concern is to provide some record of the activities, perceptions and experiences of the relatively wide spectrum of people who participated in the joint councils. This dimension is important as we still know relatively little of the regional dynamics of social reformism and inter-racial liberal ventures.

Other themes which help shape the narrative are: the relationship between the joint councils and the African petty bourgeoisie; the growth of the South African Institute of Race Relations out of the joint council movement, as well as its subsequent, almost parasitical, relationship with the councils; and reasons for the decline of the joint council movement.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people have helped encourage me during the writing and preparation of this thesis. In the first place I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Shula Marks. The thesis has benefitted greatly from her incisive comments and advice. Her enthusiasm and unflagging support over the years has been invaluable.

In addition, my family and friends have given generously of their time and assistance in many ways. I owe a particular debt to Paula du Plooy; her willingness to stand by me through the ardours of writing as well as in the general preparation of the thesis has been inestimable. My brother Christopher deserves a special mention. Not only has he been supportive through the various stages of writing up, but he has also played a crucial role in the technical production of the thesis. I must thank my sister, Jennifer, for her editorial and technical advice as well as Gerda Joubert and Bertha Barnard in the same regard. My parents and brothers, Nicholas and Anthony, and Caroline Brown have also been unstinting in their encouragement of this project.

Geoffrey Wood, my colleague at Rhodes University, has been of considerable assistance in the discussion of a number of key issues. Certain of the chapters have also benefitted from discussions with Gina Buijs. To two friends and former academic collaborators, Susan Gardiner and Catherine Cross, I am grateful for wide-ranging discussions and arguments which have enriched this work. I am also indebted to Richard Cornwell, for gently reminding me on occasions of the importance of the historian's task.

My research included a number of interviews and I would like to thank the people concerned for their gracious co-operation and hospitality.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the staffs of the various libraries and archives in which I sought relevant material, especially Mrs Anna M. Cunningham of the University of the Witwatersrand.

It is impossible to mention individually everyone whose comments have been useful and welcome, but their contributions have been much appreciated. Obviously, I am alone responsible for any shortcomings and omissions in the thesis.

I am grateful for the financial assistance rendered to me by the Human Sciences Research Council and the School of Oriental and African Studies (London University). My thanks are also due to the administrators of the Victorian League for the award of their scholarship.

Finally, in compliance with the regulations of the University of London, I declare that this entire thesis is, except where specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, my own original work.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	All African Convention
ABM	American Board of Foreign Missions
ANC	African National Congress
APS	Aborigines' Protection Society
APSP	Aborigines' Protection Society Papers
ASI	African Studies Institute
BJC	Bloemfontein Joint Council
BMSC	Bantu Men's Social Centre
CAD	Cape Archives Depot
CJC	Cape Penisula Joint Council
CPNWS	Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
DJC	Durban Joint Council
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
ELNWA	East London Native Welfare Association
FOA	Friends of Africa Society
GJCR	Grahamstown Joint Council Records
GJC	Grahamstown Joint Council
GNWA	Grahamstown Native Welfare Association
ICS	Institute of Commonwealth Studies
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
IMC/CBMS	International Missionary Council/Conference of British Missionary Society Papers
IRC	Inter-Racial Council
IYO	**Inhlangano Yabondhlayo** (later known as Mothercraft League)
JCR	Records of the Joint Councils of Europeans and Non-Europeans
JJC	Johannesburg Joint Council
JNWA	Johannesburg Native Welfare Association
KJC	Kroonstad Joint Council
LGAA	London Group on African Affairs
MJC	Mapumulo Joint Council
MP	Member of Parliament
MSS Brit Emp	British Empire Manuscripts
NAC	Native Affairs Commission
NAD	Native Affairs Department
NAST	Native Affairs Society of the Transvaal
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NNARA	Natal Native Affairs Reform Association
NNARC	Natal Native Affairs Reform Committee
NRC	Native Representative Council
NRFA	Non-Racial Franchise Association
NTS	Archives of the Native Affairs Department, Central Archives Depot
OFS	Orange Free State
PJC	Pretoria Joint Council
PNWA	Pretoria Native Welfare Association
PSF	Phelp Stokes Fund
SAB	Central Archives Depot (designated by its commonly used Afrikaans acronym)
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
TAC	Transvaal African Congress

TATA	Transvaal Teachers' Association
UCT	University of Cape Town
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand
ZA	Zoutpansberg Association
ZJC	Zoutpansberg Joint Council

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

In South Africa the term 'black' is an all embracing one, used to refer to people called Africans, Indians and Coloured. In this thesis, therefore, the term 'African' is used as it is more specific and appears to be the least objectionable. During the period studied the terms 'Kaffir' and 'Native' were widely used. Where appropriate these archaic terms have been retained.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Research for this thesis has taken place in three continents and over a number of years, during which time the cataloguing of certain manuscript collections has been changed. This is particularly the case with a number of (previously) unsorted records. Where possible, I have used the latest references for documents in the various collections.

A major source in my research has been the South African Institute of Race Relations holdings at the University of the Witwatersrand, especially the joint council records. In addition to this rich material, I have found specific documents on individual councils at the Cory, Killie Campbell and Jagger Libraries of the Universities of Rhodes, Durban and Cape Town respectively. These and other South African archives and libraries have provided substantive material on individual liberals and a range of relevant socio-political trade unions and philanthropic groupings. Some material is also available on African social and political activists. Both the central government and provincial archives proved more than merely supplementary sources, and more intensive research among these holdings would no doubt lead to additional insights into the nature and extent of the activities of the various joint councils.

Archival collections in the United States, specifically at Harvard and Yale Universities and the Schomburg Centre for Research into Black Culture, have proved invaluable in coming to grips with the American contribution to an involvement in the joint councils and the South African Institute of Race Relations. In England too, collections at the School of Oriental and African Studies Library, Rhodes House Library (Oxford), Hull Public Library and the Society of Friends archives, yielded material which significantly extends our understanding of the external dimensions of joint council activity and influence, the interventions of English Fabian intellectuals in South Africa, as well as providing insight into the play of philanthropic and liberal groupings in the latter country.

Oral evidence in the form of personal interviews has helped fill in a number of gaps in the documentary material and has given more immediacy to the period under survey. In addition, there is a range of secondary literature which provides both interpretative perspectives and useful empirical data.

INTRODUCTION.

Joint councils were voluntary agencies designed to allow Africans and whites to meet in order to 'remove causes of irritation and to improve racial relations'.[1] The target group among the African constituency was essentially the petty bourgeoisie. This group in turn used these organizations in their efforts to define and consolidate their class position.

The first joint council was established in Johannesburg in 1921.[2] By the 1930s, joint councils had been formed in a number of cities and towns as well as a few rural centres. Moreover, the councils had also fathered, somewhat to their surprise, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). Joint council numbers declined during the 1940s and by the early 1950s most joint councils had dissolved.

Collectively, joint councils played a crucial role in the articulation of reformist social criticism against discriminatory policies and practices, and the promotion of philanthropism amongst Africans and other blacks. In the final analysis, joint councils were central to the development of modern South African liberalism. For instance, a significant proportion of those who identified themselves or came to be seen as liberals in the interwar period and after, served in the joint councils. Historically, liberal ideology was very much directed at the African bourgeoisie. A detailed examination of these organizations should help deepen our understanding of the nature and dynamics of liberalism - not only as social thought, but also as a practice. Furthermore, an analysis of the activities and experiences of joint councils throughout the country provides insight into the regional particularities of

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1. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, 'The Joint Council Movement' in J. Dexter Taylor (ed), **Christianity and the Natives of South Africa** (Lovedale, n.d.).

2. See Records of the Joint Council of Europeans and Non-Europeans (JCR), Department of Historical Papers, University of Witwatersrand (Wits), Cj2.2, Johannesburg Joint Council (JJC) Constitution, 1921.

liberalism. In part then this thesis will complement - as well as act as a corrective to - Paul Rich's authoritative work on contemporary South African liberalism[3] which tends to concentrate on its ideological dimension.

The joint councils first came under historical scrutiny in a 1972 article by Jeffrey Horton.[4] The article provides a readable and general account of the joint council 'movement' but creates the impression that the councils were an interwar phenomenon. Also, Horton takes a fairly uncritical view of the motives of the leading white actors, and depicts the relationship between joint councils and the SAIRR as unproblematic. On the other hand, Baruch Hirson in a provocative paper maintains that the joint councils helped significantly in ideologically pacifying the African political elite during the 1920s and earlier 1930s.[5] This argument will be explored at some length in subsequent chapters. There are also specific case studies of the Kroonstad and Cradock Joint Councils by Paul Rich[6] and Jeffrey Butler.[7] These provide useful empirical material and insights into the limits of white reformism in South African towns.[8] In their more general studies of South African liberalism both Legassick and Rich,[9] the latter especially, pay quite considerable

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3. P. Rich, 'The Dilemmas of South African Liberalism: White Liberals, Racial Ideology and the Politics of Social Control in the period of South African Industrialization, 1887-1943' (First Version of PhD, University of Warwick, 1980); P. Rich, **White Power and the Liberal Conscience: Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism, 1921-1960** (Johannesburg, 1984).

4. J.W. Horton, 'South Africa's Joint Councils: Black-White Co-operation between the two World Wars', **South African Historical Journal**, IV, 1972.

5. B. Hirson, 'Tuskegee: The Joint Councils and the All African Convention' (Institute for Commonwealth Studies (ICS) seminar paper, London University, 1978).

6. P. Rich, 'Managing Black Leadership: The Joint Councils, Urban Trading and Political Conflict in the Orange Free State, 1925-1942' in P. Bonner, et al (eds), **Holding Their Ground** (Johannesburg, 1989).

7. J. Butler, 'Interwar Liberalism and Local Activism' in J. Butler, R. Elphick and D. Welsh (eds), **Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect** (Middletown, 1987).

8. Though they are not without factual inaccuracies.

9. See e.g. M. Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism: Its Assumptions and its Social Base' (ICS seminar paper, London University, 1972); and P. Rich, **Liberal Conscience** especially chapters 1 and 3.

attention to the councils. In his work on the development of racial segregation Saul Dubow provides a useful understanding of the play of liberal segregationism within the joint councils in the 1920s.[10] Studies by writers such as Tim Couzens[11] and Kathy Eales[12] have contributed to our understanding of the cultural interventionism of the councils. A further source is this writer's masters thesis which contains a detailed empirical coverage of the responses of the joint councils and the SAIRR to Prime Minister Hertzog's Native Bills during the years 1925-1936.[13]

In addition to these more specific studies, the thesis will engage directly with the growing research on the related areas of twentieth century South African liberalism,[14] and the making and maintenance of the African petty bourgeoisie. The bulk of these studies have been developed within a broad post-1970s revisionist tradition, and the primary theoretical dialogue will be conducted within this perspective. It should be stressed, however, that the thesis is intended essentially as a piece of empirical work. In the body of the thesis the relatively rich empirical material on the joint councils will be examined. Nevertheless, it does not take an atheoretical approach; rather it is informed by a range of critical social theory. Also, as the so-called

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10. S. Dubow, **Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919-1936** (London, 1989), especially chapters 1 and 6.

11. T. Couzens, '"Moralizing Leisure Time": The Transatlantic Connection and Black Johannesburg, 1918-1940' in S. Marks and R. Rathbone, **Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa** (London, 1988).

12. K. Eales, 'Patriarchs, Passes and Privilege' in P. Bonner, **Holding their Ground.**

13. R.J. Haines, 'The Opposition to General J.B.M. Hertzog's Segregation Bills, 1925-1936: A Study in Extra-Parliamentary Protest' (MA thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1978).

14. Among the more important works which are not explicitly grounded in a revisionist tradition are: Butler, Elphick and Welsh, **Democratic Liberalism**; J. Robertson, **Liberalism in South Africa, 1948-1963** (Oxford, 1971); D.M. Scher, **Donald Molteno Dilizintaba: He-Who-Moves-Mountains** (Johannesburg, 1979); M. Midlane, 'Aspects of the South African Liberal Tradition' in C.R. Hill and P. Warwick (eds), **Southern African Research in Progress: Papers given at a conference of the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of York, December 1974** (York, 1975); P. Lewsen, 'Cape Liberalism in its Terminal Phase' (African Studies Institute (Hereafter ASI) seminar paper, Wits, 1980); P. Lewsen, **Voices of Protest: From Segregation to Apartheid, 1938-1948** (Cape Town, 1988).

liberal-radical debate in South African historiography is far less intense these days, there are opportunities for more fruitful exchanges with liberal historical work.

The most systematic and influential studies of liberalism in post-1910 South Africa have come from Martin Legassick and Paul Rich. In a series of papers on liberalism and some of its key practitioners, written during the 1970s and unfortunately not published, Legassick has provided the reference point for subsequent analyses of South African liberalism. In his first paper on the subject,[15] Legassick argues that there was a significant shift in liberal thought to 'liberal segregationism' which became fairly coherent after 1917. This 'liberal segregationism' was bound up with the evolution of an ideology of segregation, which is described - somewhat reductively - as serving the interests of mining capital. By 1927 an idealized version of segregation or 'differential development' in some form or other, and a concern with a 'uniform native policy' no longer constituted the internal dynamic of the liberalism of the time. The declared opposition of the Johannesburg Joint Council to Prime Minister Hertzog's four Native Bills, especially the abolition of the Cape African franchise, was in effect the commencement of a qualitative shift in the ideology of white South African liberalism, which was reintegrated with its Cape antecedents. It was on this reworked version that modern South African liberalism was based. In the later 1970s Legassick extended his analysis of liberalism to incorporate Althusserian theory, in particular the idea of ideological state apparatuses, and to explore the concept of social control:

> Native policy [he wrote] is distinctive in its object rather than in its content. All modern states, as instruments of dominant classes, shape and effect policies towards those they govern: policies of social control and social welfare. Social control, the reproduction of the institutions and values of the society, involves both oppressive and 'hegemonic' institutions - those that rely on coercion and those that

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15. Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism'.

> rely on the internalization of an ideology of dependence. Social welfare constitutes those public measures necessary for the reproduction of that work force required by society. Any given institution - the school for example - may embrace both welfare and control aspects, both repressive and hegemonic control. Moreover, social policy, as defined, covers a sphere wider than the official activities of directly governmental agencies per se: churches, foundations, charities, voluntary associations of private persons may equally serve the control and welfare interests of the dominant class.[16]

While it is instructive to examine the networks of liberal and philanthropic agencies and individuals and their links with the central and local authorities, one must also consider the discontinuities and contradictions in liberal and philanthropic strategies and tactics. These require material resources and human effort to work: funds, conscientious secretaries and executive committees.

Furthermore, to talk in terms of the 'internalization of an ideology of dependence' seems to overemphasize the efficacy of the dominant ideology in South Africa. As Goran Therborn argues, 'ideologies actually operate in a state of disorder' rather than as a unitary phenomenon which pervades all aspects of social life, reinforcing the **status quo**. In addition, he maintains that fear and resignation are crucial in maintaining popular consent to an exploitative social order.[17] Anthony Giddens remarks that 'those caught in subordinate positions in a society ... may frequently be much less closely caught within the embrace of consensual 'ideologies' than many writers, who certainly, include Marxists, among others, assume'.[18]

In his doctoral thesis Rich uses social control as a central concept, though more loosely than Legassick.[19] In this work, liberal practices and writings are seen as motivated by or facilitating social control strategies

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16. M. Legassick, 'C.T. Loram and South African "Native Policy", 1920-1929' (unpublished paper, c.1979).

17. G. Therborn, **The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology** (London, 1980).

18. A. Giddens, **A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism**, Vol I (London, 1981), 67.

19. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 337-357.

vis-a-vis Africans in both urban and rural areas. In subsequent work,[20] Rich has moved to an approach which emphasizes more the interplay of ideas and the ways in which these ideas and initiatives have accommodated or facilitated, rather than subverted, the development of segregationist and apartheid policies. Rich and Legassick in attempting to theoretically locate liberalism, have not taken sufficient cognizance of its complexities and contradictions. The recent publication of a set of essays on historian and social critic, W.M. Macmillan,[21] has served an important purpose in this regard, in depicting in some detail an ostensibly liberal social actor who cannot be easily compartmentalized.

A further shortcoming in the analyses of Legassick and Rich is that they have continued to neglect the presence and activities of women. Studies by Debbie Gaitskell and Shula Marks provide some redress of this imbalance, though there is still much research to be done. Gaitskell has examined in some detail the cultural interventions among Africans by white women philanthropists and liberals, especially in the Witwatersrand area.[22] She reveals the questionable moralism and sex-specific impact of ventures such as hostels for single African women, and the African Girl Wayfarer movement (a black 'variant' of the Girl Guide movement). These ventures and their organizational hierarchy were bound up with the joint councils, especially in the 1920s. Marks's editing of the correspondence of Mabel Palmer, a Durban-based liberal, and two black women, Lily Moya, a Transkei schoolgirl, and Sibusi-

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20. In particular his book **Liberal Conscience.**

21. H. Macmillan and S. Marks, **Africa and Empire: W.M. Macmillan, Historian and Social Critic** (London, 1989).

22. D. Gaitskell, 'Female Mission Initiatives: Black and White Women in Three Witwatersrand Churches, 1909-1939', (PhD thesis, London University, 1981); D. Gaitskell, 'Christian Compounds for Girls : Church Hostels for African Women in Johannesburg, 1907-1970', **Journal of Southern African Studies**, VI, 2, 1979; D. Gaitskell, '"Upward All and Play the Game": The Girl Wayfarers' Association in the Transvaal 1925-1975', in P. Kallaway (ed), **Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans** (Johannesburg, 1984).

siwe Makhanya, a pioneer social worker in Natal,[23] provides a 'human' dimension to our understanding of black-white relationships. Marks's introduction and the annotated correspondence illuminate the complexities of Palmer's paternalistically-conditioned humanitarianism and the 'separate worlds' that the protagonists occupy. It brings home the difficulties of interpersonal relationships between whites and the educated African elite - a situation that also emerges in the proceedings and experiences of the various joint councils.

The second half of the 1980s saw something of a self-conscious resurgence of liberal scholarship in South Africa and a commensurate interest in, and re-evaluation of the history of liberalism. A series of essays on liberalism by Charles Simkins is symptomatic in this regard.[24] He suggests, inter alia, that critics of South African liberalism need to develop more sophisticated conceptualizations of the phenomenon, and take more seriously the good faith of many liberals. Historically, liberals have worked as missionaries, educators and philanthropists in the interface between white and African societies, not because they 'could find scope for indulgence of the desire to dominate', but because of a 'predisposition' for this kind of work. And in the course of such work liberals can and do gain a more progressive understanding of the meaning of social conditions and processes. This explains, he says, 'why there is a long and honourable tradition of liberal analyses of race relations and conditions'.[25] Although Simkins does not appear to give sufficient consideration to the disjunction between the intentions and effects of liberal actions, he obliges one to think more seriously about the reproduction and modification of liberal practice and theory.

Richard Elphick takes a more pessimistic view of the South African

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23. S. Marks (ed), Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women (Pietermaritzburg, 1987).

24. C.E.W. Simkins, 'Lectures on South African Liberalism' (Cape Town, 1985).

25. Ibid., Lecture One: Why Bother?, 8.

liberal tradition. In a recent study he maintains that central to an understanding of the liberalism of the twenties and thirties is an appreciation of the way in which the small group of liberals of the time locked into a vast network - 'a benevolent empire' of local and international Christian and mission institutions.[26] And a strong Christian component blunted the critical edge of this liberalism: 'Christian liberalism was strong on practical projects and on personal dedication, weak in its understanding of society and on Christian teachings about sin and judgment.'[27] Elphick overstresses the homogeneity of Christian liberals. One thinks, for instance, of Christian liberal activists such as Rev. Gordon Milburn and Clare Goodlatte (who turned to revolutionary socialism in the early 1930s). However, Elphick rightly emphasizes the importance of the networks underpinning liberal and Christian social reformism. These networks were significant material resources in conditioning the practice of liberalism.

There is a tendency in the historiography of liberalism to define the latter essentially in terms of 'race relations', that is, to see liberals as (white) agents d' liaison between the white ruling classes and the subordinated black majority. This, as Alan Cobley argues, is the major flaw of Legassick's work,[28] and by implication Rich's as well. Yet how does one account for the seeming dominance of whites in liberal ventures? A way past this dilemma is suggested in Stanley Trapido's study of Cape liberalism in the

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26. R. Elphick, 'Mission Christianity and Interwar Liberalism', in Butler, Elphick and Welsh, **Democratic Liberalism**, 69.

27. **Ibid.**, 79.

28. A. Cobley, 'Class, Colour and Culture: Black Liberals in South Africa, 1932-1950' (ICS seminar paper, London University, 1982).

later 19th and early 20th centuries.[29] Trapido argues that Cape liberalism was in effect composed of a 'great' and 'small' tradition. Based mainly in Cape Town, liberals of the great tradition were drawn from the leading financial and commercial enterprises, the government opposition of the day, Christian missionaries and the major newspapers of the colony. The 'small' tradition was 'pragmatic' in nature, essentially a product of the eastern Cape and conditioned by relationships of interest entered into by certain whites and Africans in the region.[30] Admittedly post-1910 liberalism is a different creature. Nevertheless, one can depict liberalism partly in terms of relationships between whites and blacks. Instead of seeing the liberal social actor as a white **agent d' liaison** between the white ruling classes and the subordinate black majority, one can see this social category as occupied by both whites and blacks, with the former apparently predominant. These sets of relationships interacted with or were informed by broader currents of liberal thought and practice both domestic and metropolitan.

We are still awaiting a study of liberalism in South Africa with a sufficiently broad canvas, as can be found in Tim Rowse's analysis of liberalism and 'national character' in Australia between 1920-1970. Rowse stresses 'the protean influence of liberal concepts and ideas' and contends that liberalism is a discourse capable of much flexibility and political nuances within a 'constraining conceptual framework'.[31] In addition, liberalism is a hegemonic ideology, in that it produces theory and legitimizes the practice of a particular ordering of society, and the dominance by a ruling class over subordinate and divided social classes. He emphasizes the need to take intel-

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29. S. Trapido, 'Liberalism in the Cape in the 19th and 20th Centuries' (ICS seminar paper, London University, 1972); S. Trapido, '"The Friends of the Natives": Merchants, Peasants and the Political and Ideological Structure of Liberalism in the Cape, 1854-1910' in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds), **Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa** (London, 1980).

30. Trapido, 'Friends of the Natives'.

31. T. Rowse, **Australian Liberalism and National Character** (Melbourne, 1978), 6.

lectuals seriously and to treat them 'as ideologues involved in class struggle of a distinctive kind'.[32]

For Rowse, a central feature of liberalism as ideology is that society is conceived as a collection of atomistic individuals and the state's actions are presumed to be the pursuit of the 'collective interest' of the social ensemble of individuals. Any individual's membership of any social grouping or class is taken as secondary to his/her membership of the total society.[33] The primary allegiance of the individual is supposedly the state rather than any social grouping or class within society. This separation of the formally free individual from his or her class position leads all liberal social theory and explanations back to concepts about individuals and the nature of their subjectivity.

Liberalism works as ideology through a 'discursive ordering of a large number of concrete experiences in liberal-capitalist society'.[34] By using certain fundamental concepts, the presence of which is not made explicit, liberal social theory is quite successful in providing us with a convincing picture of how the social world works. It depicts the state as the neutral arbiter of social conflicts and explains these conflicts by referring to the nature and intentions of individuals.

There are obvious difficulties in directing this form of analysis to South African society. Rowse's work is nevertheless suggestive in indicating how liberalism, even in a defensive structural position, can influence or shape seemingly non-liberal practices and institutions. However, Rowse's insistence on the essentially self-contained nature of liberal ideology and discourse is problematic. Are the parameters of liberal and authentic radical

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32. Ibid., 6-7.

33. Ibid., 15.

34. Ibid., 16.

social analysis necessarily so distinct? Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's recent work suggests not.[35] As Alan Gilbert argues, the differences between Marxian and liberal theories of democracy 'are broadly empirical and social-theoretical rather than clashes of underlying moral premises'.[36] Furthermore, in South Africa liberal notions and writings have been appropriated from above (the state and the ruling political elites) and below (the largely black, subordinated classes). The institutionalization of the wage contract - which Rowse appears to see as legitimizing the apparatus of the liberal democratic state in Australia[37] - has, according to Giddens, historically facilitated the rise of organized labour in advanced capitalist societies.[38] In zeroing in on liberalism-as-ideology, we run the risk of overlooking how the production of liberal social theory is located in the reproduction of society and the economy, and of depicting liberalism as essentially some form of epiphenomenon. As Raymond Williams has argued, we should see cultural processes (and this includes liberal theory and mythology) as part of the process of production as a whole.[39]

An emerging body of work dealing with the African petty bourgeoisie constitutes a crucial point of reference to this thesis. For one, there is Brian Willan's influential 1976 article on Sol Plaatje which questioned a tendency in previous radical analyses to dismiss African petty bourgeois groups and individuals as collaborators or ideologically colonized actors.[40]

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35. E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, **Hegemony and Socialist Strategies: Towards Radical Democratic Politics** (London, 1985); E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, 'Post-Marxism without Apologies', **New Left Review**, 166, 1987.

36. A. Gilbert, 'Democracy and Individuality', **Social Philosophy and Policy**, 3:2, 1986, 19.

37. Rowse, **Australian Liberalism**, 16.

38. Giddens, **Critique**, 10.

39. R. Williams, **Culture** (Glasgow, 1981).

40. B. Willan, 'Sol Plaatje, De Beers and an Old Tram Shed: Class Relations and Social Control in a South African Town, 1918-1919', **Journal of Southern African Studies**, IV, 2, 1978.

Willan's fine biography of Plaatje implicitly reinforces his point.[41] Secondly, in a series of studies of prominent African leaders in Natal, Shula Marks shows how the African political elite had little option in a highly oppressive and racially divided society but to use ambiguous modes of expression and action to survive politically.[42] What also emerges from her work is that the kind of calculations the petty bourgeoisie make and the tactics they adopt are in a sense the reflection of their identity as part of a structurally fragmented and ambiguous class.

A 1980 essay by Phil Bonner on the Transvaal African Congress, 1917-1920, was one of the first attempts to provide a theoretically explicit model to account for the complexities and divisions within the African petty bourgeoisie.[43] Reflecting the increased interest in this 'uneasy stratum'[44] by new Marxist theorists, and drawing particularly from the work of Poulantzas and Laclau, Bonner depicted the African petty bourgeoisie as particularly prone to ideological influences and as a qualitatively different phenomenon to petty bourgeoisie in advanced capitalist societies. He argued that the 'petty bourgeoisie, lying between the two dominant relations of production, tended to swing according to the pressures exercised on it by the two contending classes'.[45] Though the notion of the petty bourgeoisie as a kind of 'uneasy stratum' is a helpful descriptive and explanatory device, it is questionable whether it should be taken as axiomatic. The metaphor of a class in a per-

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41. B. Willan, **Sol Plaatje: A Biography** (Johannesburg, 1984).

42. S. Marks, **The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal** (Johannesburg, 1986).

43. P. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917-1920: The Radicalization of the Black Petty Bourgeoisie on the Rand' (ASI seminar paper, Wits, 1980).

44. F. Bechhofter and B. Eliot (eds), **The Petite Bourgeoisie: Comparative Studies in the Uneasy Stratum** (London, 1981).

45. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress'. The essay has been published in Marks and Rathbone, **Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa.**

petually unstable state with little substantive volition of its own can lead to an overreliance on ideology as a means of explanation.

In a detailed analysis of the social nature of the leadership of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) during the 1920s, Helen Bradford develops themes which provide us with a subtle and empirically rich picture of the African petty bourgeoisie in this period and after.[46] She argues that by the 1920s, the upper ranks of the middle class had become particularly difficult to enter, and that lower-middle class Africans were being forced further from the white bourgeoisie towards the African masses. This was happening at all levels: economic, political, social, cultural and ideological. Class boundaries were fragile and there was 'no Manichean disjuncture' between the masses and the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie.[47]

The most detailed treatment of the African petty bourgeoisie is Alan Cobley's recent doctoral thesis.[48] Cobley develops the idea, first raised by Willan, of the 'historical agency' of the petty bourgeoisie. He argues that in response to increasing economic pressures and state repression, the African petty bourgeoisie had by the 1930s developed and deployed a range of class-specific social and cultural networks and practices as a means of reinforcing and reproducing its class position. This enabled them 'to dictate the fundamental priorities and direction of the African nationalist struggle before and after 1950'.[49] Although this approach is somewhat more sanguine than that of Bradford's, there is considerable similarity in their respective topologies of the petty bourgeoisie. Cobley, for instance, also talks in

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46. H. Bradford, 'Mass Movements and the Petty Bourgeoisie: The Social Origins of the ICU Leadership, 1924-1929', Journal of African History, XXV, 3, 1984, 295-310.

47. Ibid., 310.

48. A. Cobley, '"On the Shoulders of Giants": The Black Petty Bourgeoisie in Politics and Society in South Africa, 1924-1950', (PhD thesis, London University, 1986). This thesis is about to be published as a book.

49. Ibid., 315.

terms of a small upper stratum which was generally economically secure, in contrast to a decidedly larger lower stratum vulnerable to proletarianization and subject to frequent interchanges of members of the 'under classes'.[50]

Bradford tends to rely more heavily than Cobley on the criteria of economic privilege in identifying the occupiers of the African 'upper middle class', of which lawyers, doctors and wealthy cane farmers were crucial components.[51] This still leaves the problem of those petty bourgeoisie who would see themselves as part of the upper middle class strata, through education or as part of the political establishment, but whose economic situation was not all that secure. Frank Pendla, a member of the Port Elizabeth Joint Council and local advisory board in the 1930s and after, as well as president of the Cape African Congress in the early 1940s, did not have a very stable economic life. He worked variously as a court interpreter, postmaster, clerk and restaurant proprietor.[52] And his experience was by no means unique.

E.O. Wright's rethinking of Marxist class categories has some application here. He argues for a move from domination-centred to exploitation-centred concepts of class. Such a shift, he maintains, would be particularly useful in rethinking the 'problem' of the middle classes. The ownership of skill assets - particularly when institutionalized in the form of credentials - is not solely a basis for exploitation; it is also a basis for class relation. Thus the productive assets that classes control, lead them to pursue certain strategies within exchange relations, and thereby shape the

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50. **Ibid.**, 2.

51. H. Bradford, 'The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa in the South African Countryside, 1924-1930' (PhD thesis, Wits, 1985), chapter 2. This PhD has subsequently been published as a book: **A Taste of Freedom: The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930** (Johannesburg, 1988); Bradford, 'Mass Movements and the Petty Bourgeoisie', 296; Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', 32.

52. T.D. Karis and G.M. Carter (eds), **From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964**, Vol IV (Stanford, 1977), 126.

outcome of those market transactions.[53] Wright finds this approach particularly helpful in conceptualizing 'middle class' locations.

Thus the middle class are situated within class relations:

> by the nature of their material optimizing strategies given the specific kinds of assets they own or control. Their specific class location helps to specify their interests both within the existing capitalist society and with respect to various kinds of alternative games (societies) to which they may want to withdraw.[54]

Individuals in middle class locations have four options in relations to class struggle: they can attempt to gain entry through exploiting their skill assets; they can attempt to gain entry as individuals into the dominant exploiting class itself; they can try to secure an alliance with the dominant exploiting class; or they can forge some kind of alliance with the principle exploited class. Especially in conditions where the petty bourgeoisie are being subjected to a process of 'degradation', people in contradictory locations may see the balance of their interests as being more in line with the working classes. This scenario is not unlike Bradford's depiction of 'downward class mobility' among the African petty bourgeoisie. Wright's overall schema is complicated but it does provide conceptual space for the question of human agency.

The whole problem of individual and group agency is a vexing one and has not been given sufficient attention in South African historiography. Willan and Marks's respective studies of Plaatje and the African political elite are indicative of a more self-conscious approach, both theoretically and empirically to this question. Their appreciation of the ambiguities and calculations of their subjects has yet to be duplicated in studies of white liberals. Apart from the above-mentioned studies, Giddens's theory of structuration as well as his notion of (relatively) knowledgeable social actors is an important

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53. E.O. Wright, 'A General Framework for the Analysis of Class Structure', **Politics and Society**, xI, 4, 1984, 391.

54. **Ibid.**, 403.

if implicit touchstone in this thesis.[55]

The thesis aims to provide a detailed - but by no means exhaustive - account of the joint councils. Only passing mention will be given to the Indo-European and Coloured-European joint councils. These operated independently of the European-African joint councils. The extra-Union impact of the joint councils will also receive limited coverage.

This study suggests that liberalism is more open-ended and complex than is usually assumed to be the case. The use of the phrase 'the politics of philanthropy and race relations' in the thesis title reflects this writer's unease with the tendency to include a range of discourses and philanthropic practices under the rubric of liberalism. Jorgen Lissner's study of the micropolitics of voluntary aid agencies has relevance here.[56] These agencies, Lissner indicates, want to be respected and listened to, therefore their outlook and activities are conditioned by their constituencies.[57] A not dissimilar process can be detected at work within the joint councils and the SAIRR. It is important that the materiality of the functioning of these institutions be taken into consideration in any analysis of liberalism. It will be argued that the joint councils were more than merely institutions of co-option and control. In a limited way they constituted sites for negotiation and formed part of the socio-cultural networks certain African petty bourgeoisie used in the assertion of their class and cultural identity.

The first chapter discusses the changing nature of liberal and philanthropic ventures in early twentieth century South Africa with particular reference to the institutional predecessors of the joint councils. The ef-

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55. See e.g. Giddens, **Critique**.

56. J. Lissner, **The Politics of Altruism: A Study of the Political Behaviour of Voluntary Development Agencies** (Geneva, 1977).

57. **Ibid.**, especially chapter 8.

forts of urban-based African petty bourgeoisie to consolidate their class position in the face of a white-dominated society, is a related concern.

The second chapter examines the circumstances and pressures which contributed to the formation of the first joint council in 1921. The role played by members of the American-funded Phelps Stokes Commission, notably James Aggrey and Thomas Jesse Jones, is assessed. In this regard the significance of Aggrey's discourse on the strategy and tactics for African economic advancement is a key issue.

Chapter three deals with the formative years of the Johannesburg Joint Council (JJC). It shows how, initially at least, sections of the African petty bourgeoisie used this council to push their aspirant or actual professional interests. Its dealings with its different constituencies will also receive attention.

The fourth chapter analyses the spread and consolidation of the joint councils during the early years. It examines the play of liberal segregationism within the councils and efforts by the joint council hierarchy to form a broad-based alliance with the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in the realm of 'native welfare'. This is evident in the 1923 European-Bantu Conference, in which the joint councils, representatives of the DRC, English Protestant churches, a number of individual African leaders, as well as senior government officials were present. The in-house conference of joint councils in 1924, which concentrated on the specifics of joint council work, displayed far less interest in segregation than had the 1923 gathering. The question is raised whether the 'liberalism' of the joint councils had a degree of flexibility to allow for possible accommodation of more conservative forces.

A central concern of chapter five is the responses of the councils to the segregationist legislation and policies of the Pact government during the second half of the 1920s, and the ways in which their opposition contributed to the shift towards a more 'modern' and less segregationist form of liberal-

ism. Chapter six deals with the same period, and considers the role of the councils as agents of co-option and control. In regard to the first aspect, it examines the seemingly low-key efforts by the councils to extend or consolidate their African constituencies, and explores the changing relationship between the councils and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). The councils' apparent general reluctance to move beyond a petty bourgeoisie audience is briefly discussed. On the control side, the changing nature of cultural interventionism of the councils in fields such as recreation and health is analysed in some detail.

Chapter seven investigates the behind-the-scenes planning and calculations that led up to the formation of the SAIRR in 1929. It then explores the relationship between the Institute and the joint councils, and how the former inhibited efforts to develop a more assertive liberalism during the 1930s and earlier 1940s.

The following chapter focuses on the joint councils during the 1930s. Despite a growth in numbers during the earlier part of the decade, the councils failed to coalesce into a more structured movement, or to develop programmes better tailored for their African membership. The regional and local imperatives conditioning the kinds of liberalism encountered in the joint, councils will also be considered.

The short chapter nine deals with the rural joint councils in the 1930s and 1940s, with specific case studies of the Zoutpansberg and Mapumulo bodies. The final chapter considers the dynamics of the decline of the various councils, showing that a few councils experienced an Indian summer during the 1940s. It challenges simplistic interpretations of dwindling African participation and interest in the joint councils.

CHAPTER 1

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF NATIVE WELFARE, 1900-1920[1]

This chapter examines the emergence and workings of certain liberal and philanthropic ventures during the first two decades of the twentieth century. It focuses on two related organizational forms and developments: firstly, the social service work of the American Board of Foreign Missions and allied agencies in Durban and Johannesburg ; and secondly, the native affairs societies and their successors, the native welfare societies. The native welfare societies, in particular, were in a very real sense the progenitors of the joint councils. A central argument is that the creation of new philanthropic and liberal practices and institutions during 1900-1919, can be directly linked to capitalist urbanization[2] and the changing composition and structure of urban society. Transformations in liberalism during this period cannot adequately be explained by reference to the extension of liberal ideas from the missions and the Cape to a new urban environment. Liberalism, as a practice, was largely a system of relationships centred on small rural towns and mission settlements in the 19th century eastern Cape. New practices and theories had to be developed in order to comprehend, control and communicate with Africans who were migrating to, or already living in, an impersonal and increasingly segregated urban environment.

By the late 19th century whites had conquered the whole of the geographic area of what is now South Africa, and taken possession of the bulk of the land. For the African societies in the region, massive and qualitative changes followed in relation to land, tenure and productive man-land rela-

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1. This chapter is based on a published pamphlet which is reproduced in Appendix B.

2. For a discussion of this phenomenon see M. Padayachee and R.J. Haines, 'Capital Accumulation, Control and the Construction of Urban Space' in R.J. Haines and G. Buijs (eds), **The Struggle for Social and Economic Space: Urbanization in Twentieth Century South Africa** (Durban, 1985).

tions.[3] In the space of decades, rather than centuries as in Western Europe, South Africa developed from a disparate collection of polities to a unified and relatively advanced industrial nation. Central to this was the discovery and exploitation of diamonds in Kimberley in 1868 and more especially gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886.

The reconstruction policies of the Milner administration in the wake of the 1899-1902 South African War paved the way for the political unification of South Africa.[4] The South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), appointed by Milner to spell out a uniform 'native policy' to transcend the 'assimilationist' policies of the Cape and the more 'repressive' policies of the two ex-Boer republics and Natal, was an important ideological step in this process. Its report represented the first official exposition of segregation, recommending **inter alia** a system of territorial separation whereby Africans were to be given land in specially delineated reserves.[5]

Legassick argues that it was on the Rand during the 1900s that the guidelines of 20th century segregation policies were forged, 'both in relation to the town and the countryside'.[6] However, more recent research suggests that this is an overemphasis in terms of time and place. For instance, Gary Baines suggests that there were distinct and overlooked continuities between segregationist policies under merchant capitalism in the Cape Colony

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3. For a discussion of these changes see e.g. C. Cross and R.J. Haines, 'An Historical Overview of Land Policy and Tenure in South Africa's Black Areas' in C. Cross and R.J. Haines (eds), **Towards Freehold? Options for Land and Development in South Africa's Black Rural Areas** (Cape Town, 1988); W. Beinart, P. Delius and S. Trapido (eds), **Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850-1930** (Johannesburg, 1986).

4. For more detail on the policy of the Milner period see S. Marks and S. Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South African State', **History Workshop Journal**, 3, 1979.

5. Dubow, **Racial Segregation**, 5.

6. M. Legassick, 'The Making of South African "Native Policy", 1903-1923: The Origins of Segregation', (ICS seminar paper, London University, 1972).

d twentieth century segregation under industrial capitalism.[7] John Cell resses that by 1907 the processes facilitating the simultaneous development capitalism and segregation had been 'far from complete'.[8] David Welsh and ula Marks have underlined the significance of Natal's contribution to the king of segregationist policy.[9] Moreover, the point has been made that gregation was not only designed and imposed from 'above'; it was also a oduct of struggles from 'below'.[10]

The South African Party governments under the respective premierships of nerals Botha and Smuts, 'extended segregation in areas where it already isted, and imposed it in others where it had never existed before'.[11] The 911 Mines and Works Act entrenched the job reservation system in industry, nd in the same year strikes by contract workers (i.e. Africans) were declared llegal.[12] The 1913 Land Act imposed a policy of territorial segregation by epriving Africans of their rights to purchase or lease land outside African scheduled areas'.[13] Although intended as a temporary measure to maintain the tatus quo pending the report of a land commission, the Act was retained until uperceded by the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act.[14] The 1920 Native Affairs

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7. G. Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation: Local Government and the Resistance of Africans in Port Elizabeth, c.1835-1865', **South African Historical Journal**, XXII, 1990, 61-2.

8. J. Cell, **The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South** (Cambridge, 1982), 57.

9. D. Welsh, **The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910** (Cape Town, 1971); S. Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation', **Journal of Southern African Studies**, IV, 2, 1978.

10. W. Beinart, 'Conflict in Qumba: Rural Consciousness, Ethnicity and Violence in the Colonial Transkei, 1880-1913', **Journal of Southern African Studies**, VIII, 1981; Marks, **Ambiguities**, 39.

11. T.R.H. Davenport, **South Africa: A Modern History**, third edition (Johannesburg, 1987), 258.

12. **Ibid.**

13. These consisted almost entirely of reserves and land already in African hands.

14. The 1916 Beaumont Commission was set up under the chairmanship of Sir William Beaumont to delineate additional land, but white resistance and other political and administrative calculations left the proposals a dead letter. The recommendations of the 1918 Local Committees, which succeeded the Commission, met the same fate.

Act introduced segregated political institutions for Africans. The Act authorized local councils on the lines of the Glen Grey scheme to provide for limited self-government in African areas, and set up the Native Conference of African leaders, nominated by the government. It also established the all-white Native Affairs Commission of 'experts' to liaise with Africans and to advise white legislators on native policy. The 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act provided for the creation and administration of segregated African residential areas in and near towns and cities.

In this increasingly segregated environment the African petty bourgeoisie were forced to develop new strategies for survival. According to Cobley, by the 1920s a mature African petty bourgeoisie had emerged in the towns.[15] This occurrence had its roots in the African Christian (**kholwa**) communities which developed around mission stations from the 1820s onwards.[16] Norman Etherington argues that these stations were social 'melting pots', in which a collection of disparate groups and individuals, whose social disorientation predated their conversion, developed over time into self-confident and often relatively prosperous communities with elite aspirations.[17] These **kholwa** communities were distinguished from their 'traditional' neighbours by their adherence to Christian and western beliefs and practices. Their separate identity was forged by an exposure to more individual forms of land tenure and new methods of agricultural production, as well as a system of education which provided the skills required by South Africa's colonial and industrializing cash economy. The mission stations were mostly rurally-based,

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15. Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', 106.

16. Mission activities began in the 1820s in the Cape and the 1830s in Natal. S. Marks and S. Trapido, 'The Politics of Class, Race and Nationalism' in S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds), **The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa** (London, 1987), 6.

17. N. Etherington, 'Mission Station Melting Pots as a Factor in the Rise of South African Black Nationalism', **International Journal of African Historical Studies**, IX, 4, 1976.

but the growth of colonial towns - initially under the stimulus of merchant capital - provided markets for African produce and a source of jobs, particularly of an administrative and clerical nature. The emergence of new industrial towns in the late 19th century created further job opportunities for educated Africans. The first generation of educated Africans who migrated to the towns were able to take up the more advantageous economic opportunities available to Africans at the time, and were generally better able to acquire property, partly because of a sounder grasp of legal considerations. They were also better placed to acquire letters of exemption which were necessary outside the Cape Province in the acquisition of land, to conduct business outside locations and to avoid restrictions on movement.[18]

Central to the emergence of the African petty bourgeoisie as a self-conscious class by the 1920s, was the development of a coherent cultural consciousness - facilitated by the creation and development of a variety of social and cultural networks, especially by better educated Africans. The extended family continued to provide an important social resource: it helped perpetuate upper stratum families and thus the existing class structure. This was achieved through economic co-operation between family members, intermarriage and cementing alliances with traditional elites.[19]

An important feature of the African elite in the 19th century and after, especially in the Cape, was the close links they developed with sympathetic whites or 'friends of the natives'.[20] Even in the early 20th century with more experience of the realities of white domination, educated Africans continued to see whites as the bench mark for their progress. These relationships were expressed and mythologized within the broad and shifting terrain of Cape

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18. Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', 104-105.

19. **Ibid.**, 107-129.

20. **Ibid.**, 139; S. Trapido, 'The Friends of the Natives'.

liberalism. A key symbol was the 'colour-blind', though qualified, franchise embedded in the 1853 constitution of the Cape Colony by the British imperial authorities, which reflected the mid-Victorian belief in the possibility of turning educated Africans into 'black Englishmen'. Africans took seriously British liberal values associated with the franchise, and the apparent opportunities of being incorporated into the colonial order.[21]

The 1880s and after saw an erosion of the incorporationist ideology and practice in Cape liberalism. Shifts in the policies and practices of mission societies in South Africa (the Cape in particular), part of a world-wide re-adjustment of attitudes in mission circles,[22] were bound up with the changing conceptions of Cape liberalism. The missions, which advocated a policy of formal nonracial equality during the first half of the 19th century, were by the end of the century concerned industrial education and inculcating 'habits of industry'.[23] The process of integrating the recently-conquered Transkeian Territories into the Cape Colony heightened fears of a drastic increase in African voters on the Cape common role, and resulted in a growing emphasis on 'the means of "liberal and fair and just" administration of Africans who would not be incorporated on equal terms in the common society'.[24] These concerns, coupled with rising demands for labour by the mines especially, led to shifts in reserve policy in the eastern Cape. The 1894 Glen Grey Act envisaged a process of political segregation.[25] Under the Glen Grey system land was allocated as individual tenure, though legally it could only be held in communal

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21. Marks and Trapido, 'The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism', 6.

22. See e.g. J.F.A. Ajayi, **Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite** (London, 1965), 255-264.

23. M. Ashley, 'African Education and Society in the 19th Century Cape' in C. Saunders and R. Derricourt (eds), **Beyond the Cape Frontier: Studies in the History of Transkei and Ciskei** (Cape Town, 1978).

24. Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism'.

25. See S. Trapido, 'Liberalism in the Cape in the 19th and 20th Centuries'.

tenure allotments. The owners thus could not fulfil the proprietary conditions for the franchise.[26] A modicum of compensation was offered in the form of district councils with some measure of local government. And with respect to the Cape franchise itself, qualifications were raised in 1887 and again in 1892 to strengthen the position of whites at the polls.

Despite this circumscription of African access to the franchise, the emergent petty bourgeoisie nevertheless made conscious use of the electoral process in the Cape. The later 19th century saw the establishment of several associations aimed at organizing Africans to assert their political rights.[27] On a related front, a number of African notables worked closely with 'liberal' whites. This tendency was exemplified in the political journalism of John Tengo Jabavu,[28] and in the establishment of a Native Electoral Association in the Kingwilliamstown district in 1884.[29] By the end of the century Africans, through bloc voting and informed lobbying, came to exercise a limited though real influence within Cape politics.[30]

Part of the difficulty in tracing both the decline and persistence of Cape liberalism after Union is due to its multifaceted nature; it was a changing set of interacting practices and discourses. The advent of Union saw substantial changes to the social relationships in its constituencies: the reduced electoral strength of African voters, the decline of the African peasantry (hastened by extra-economic coercion and the expansion of white

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26. M. Lacey, **Working for Boroko: The Origins of a Coercive Labour System In South Africa** (Johannesburg, 1981), 16.

27. On these early African organizations in the Cape see A. Odendaal, **Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912** (Cape Town, 1984), 7-16.

28. J.T. Jabavu was the founder and editor of **Imvo Zabantsundu**, an African newspaper founded with white assistance in 1884.

29. This Association returned a young independent candidate, James Rose-Innes, to Parliament. P. Walshe, **The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1912-1952** (London, 1970), 4.

30. Cd 2399, **Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905**, Vol II, 34.

capitalist agriculture), and a corresponding drop in the prosperity of local merchants. Although Cape liberals were prominent in the Native Affairs Department for a decade or so after Union, 'native administration' had become more centralized and the moral paternalism of progressive administrators had been circumscribed.[31] On one level this process represented a change from a society whose modes of control were based quite extensively on paternalism and personal ties, to one which was bureaucratized, albeit incompletely. It could be argued that such a change was already observable in the Cape during the late 19th century. For instance, Kimberley's development into an industrial town and the entrenchment of the compound system saw a partial bureaucratization of the personal philanthropic relationship in the appointment of a state official, a 'protector of natives' to look after the 'welfare' of the Africans in the compounds. Yet the attenuation and severing of liberal practices in the Cape (especially those of an official or semi-official nature) by the geopolitical reshaping of southern Africa, should not be underestimated. The resultant nation state led to a unification of administrative apparatuses and a growth in centralized political powers.[32]

Shifts and discontinuities in late 19th and early 20th century Cape liberalism can be related at the most general level to the emergence of the New Imperialism during the 1880s and changed European views on race. According to Semmel, by the beginning of the 20th century British imperialism had become a 'social imperialism' and was informed by the pseudo-scientific eugenics of Karl Pearson and by Social Darwinism.[33] Social imperialism deified the Anglo-Saxon 'race' and undercut the early and mid-Victorian objective 'of

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31. W.M. Macmillan, **My South African Years: An Autobiography** (Cape Town, 1975), 175-176.

32. Padayachee and Haines, 'Capital Accumulation', 29.

33. B. Semmel, **Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social Thought, 1895-1914** (London, 1960).

turning Africans into black Englishmen'.[34] Therefore, references to the 'destinies' of the 'Anglo-Saxon race' were common in turn-of-the-century Cape liberal pronouncements.

The growth of collectivist thought and practice on an international level, fed into the segregationist thought emerging in the early 20th century, both in civil society and the state. A number of historians[35] have revealed a tradition of 'liberal segregationism' in the early decades of the 20th century, stretching from Howard Pim and Maurice Evans to C.T. Loram and Edgar Brookes.[36] Evans died in 1919, but the others went on to play important roles in interwar liberalism. They drew on a range of sources, and self-consciously distanced themselves from the **laissez faire** universal liberalism which they associated with the Cape.[37] Their work was informed by a range of sources which included British indirect rule in Africa, colonial administration in India, segregationist thought and practice in the American South and the accommodationist policies of black Americans such as Booker T. Washington.[38] They tended to look to the rural areas in order to contain urban conflict and to cushion African societies from the harshness of industrialization. While segregationist policies developed along with capitalism in South Africa, it should not be assumed that there was a direct correspondence between capitalist interests and the work of intellectuals such as Pim and Evans. Such a

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34. R. Hyam, **Elgin and Churchill at the Colonial Office, 1905-1908: The Watershed of Empire** (London, 1968).

35. Cell, **The Highest Stage of White Supremacy**; Dubow, **Racial Segregation**; Legassick, 'Rise of Modern South African Liberalism'; Legassick, 'C.T. Loram'; Rich, **Liberal Conscience**; M. Legassick, 'Howard Pim and the meaning of Segregation: Some Notes on Labour-power, Gold-mining and the South African State' (unpublished paper, n.d.).

36. See Appendix A for biographical notes.

37. Dubow, **Racial Segregation**, 7.

38. See Appendix A.

correspondence may seem obvious in the case of Pim,[39] but even here, this underestimates his Quaker moralism and the range of influences on his advocacy of reserve-based segregation.[40]

Pim was prominent among a disparate collection of potential philanthropists or **agents d' liaison**, and self-made intellectuals concerned with 'native affairs' who made their appearance outside the Cape during the early 1900s. Their ranks contained some Cape liberals who had moved to industrial centres such as Johannesburg and Durban, and who, in a few cases, had migrated ideologically. Legassick has provisionally identified the groups and individuals as self-styled 'friends of the natives'.[41] A number of these 'friends of the natives' were anything but liberals, though more distinct categories of liberals and philanthropists developed from their ranks. These developments are partly accounted for by Legassick in his outline of shifts in 'liberal' thought during the early decades of the 20th century. The new 'friends of the natives' emerged against a backdrop of an extensive public debate among whites on what was euphemistically termed the 'native question'. American Board missionary Frederick Bridgman noted in 1901 that

> "The Native Question" is steadily coming to the front. Once the Boer is out of the way, it is the native that must be dealt with.[42]

By the end of the decade the 'native question' had become more of an 'object' of enquiry and less regional in scope. Insofar as it betokened a search for a 'common native policy' and a polemical discussion of the Cape franchise, it was explicitly linked with the impending political unification of South

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39. Legassick, 'Howard Pim'; M. Legassick and D. Innes, 'Capital Restructuring and Apartheid: A Critique of Constructive Engagement', **African Affairs**, LXXVI, 305, 1977, 465-466.

40. See Appendix B; Dubow, **Racial Segregation**, 8.

41. Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism'. The origins of this term lie in the eastern Cape usage and in the Aborigines' Protection Society (APS) phrase 'aborigines' friend'.

42. American Board of Foreign Mission (ABM) Papers, Harvard University Library, ABC: 15.4, Vol 22, Annual Letter from American Zulu Mission, July 1900-June 1901.

Africa. This was underlined, for example, in the overlapping membership of 'native affairs' and 'closer union' societies. In tandem with this rather amorphous debate was a more informed debate focused by, as well as informing, the 'native affairs societies', and conducted within the press and journals such as **The State.**[43] This debate reinforced a process of concentration, transformation, as well as construction of concepts for perceiving (as opposed to understanding) and categorizing Africans in an ostensibly scientific fashion. There was a move away from the practice of characterizing individual African societies as races and a growing tendency to describe these societies collectively as a unitary 'race'.

Stimulating white public interest in the 'native question' was a series of 'moral panics' during the 1900s in which Africans or Asians loomed large as social pests or dangers. There were three basic types of popular panic: the first relating to the notion of the African or Indian as a harbinger or carrier of contagious diseases, the so-called sanitation syndrome,[44] and the second to alleged assaults by African men on white women. Thirdly, as demonstrated particularly in the Rand-based agitation against the Chinese 'yellow peril', there was a deep fear about threats to 'white' jobs and socio-economic 'standards'.

Bubonic plague, which appeared in Cape Town in 1900 and which spread to other urban centres, led to intense agitation by whites for the development of separate urban locations for Africans. As a result, Ndabeni (Cape Town) was established in 1902 and Klipspruit (Johannesburg) in 1904. In Durban, as Swanson observes, the plague 'had an enormous effect on the native question, alarming the whites, confirming their image of African and Indian concentrations as a public health menace, and frightening the Blacks into fleeing the

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43. For some background detail on this debate see Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 188, 190, 201.

44. M. Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', Journal of African History, XVIII, 3, 1977.

city in great numbers'.[45] 'Black peril' agitations occurred throughout South Africa during the 1900s and were most intense in the larger towns and cities.

It was one of these moral panics, notably alleged assaults on white women, that contributed to the formation of the Natal Native Reform League in Durban in late 1904. The League supported those officials who sought greater control of the African urban labour force, and proposed prohibiting Africans from using public sidewalks.[46] Nevertheless, the League was not altogether a repressive body. Certain American Board missionaries were members[47] and it was, in some respects, the organizational precursor of the more reformist Natal Native Affairs Reform Committee (NNARC) formed in late 1907. The significance of the League was that it was in effect the first voluntary agency specifically concerned with discussing the 'problems' presented by Africans living in towns.[48]

The appearance, especially outside the Cape, of secular town-based humanitarians and 'experts' on 'native affairs' should also be placed in the context of the intellectual and cultural life in South Africa. The turn of the century saw the emergence of literary, philosophical, scientific and debating societies in the cities and towns of southern Africa. These voluntary agencies provided for adult higher education and were key sites - especially before the establishment of 'native affairs' and 'closer union' societies in the late 1900s - for the discussion of various aspects of the 'native question'. Among the reasons for participation in these societies, as well as for a self-conscious altruistic interest in Africans, was an attitude of 'civic-

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45. M. Swanson, 'The "Durban System": Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', **African Studies**, XXXV, 3-4, 1976.

46. **Natal Mercury**, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10 and 15 December 1904.

47. ABM Papers, ABC: 15.4, Vol 24, Bridgman to Rev E.E. Strong, 5 May 1905.

48. For more detail on Natal Native Reform League see Appendix B.

mindedness'.[49]

The establishment of 'native affairs' societies in the years immediately preceding Union, represented a specialization of function in relation to the older cultural and scientific societies. 'Native affairs' was now the sole 'area' being questioned rather than a variety of social and philosophical phenomena. Some of these 'learned' associations also contributed personnel to the newer 'native affairs' societies. The NNARC had a fairly diverse white membership which included 'leading professional and businessmen of the town'.[50] The Committee's professed aim was the education and organizing of public opinion 'with a view to securing more enlightened legislation bearing upon the natives'.[51] The Native Affairs Society of the Transvaal (NAST) was established at a meeting in January 1908 convened by David Pollock, a leading Johannesburg lawyer. Pollock's aim was 'to found a society for the purposes of studying the native question and of advocating a liberal native policy'.[52] Nevertheless, like the NNARC, the Transvaal body attempted to cater for 'as wide a range of opinion as possible among serious and earnest students of the native question'.[53] There seems to have been more polarization of opinion within the NAST, with 'repressionist segregationist' and liberal wings deeloping. The latter group was part of a strand of thought identified by contemporaries as 'fusionist' or 'assimilationist' which persisted in a small way on the Rand during the years after Union. NAST formally ceased its activities on 12 July 1912, although it had already been moribund by the end of 1910. NNARC

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49. For more detail on the civic-mindedness of whites see Appendix B.

50. ABM Papers, ABC: 15.4, Vol 24, Bridgman to Rev J.L. Burton, 14 March 1908.

51. **Ibid.**, Bridgman to Rev E. Bell, 17 January 1908.

52. Native Affairs Society of the Transvaal (NAST) Records, Johannesburg Public Library Archives, Minute Book, First Annual Report.

53. F.W. Bell Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, NAST Records, 'The Native Affairs Society of the Transvaal: Objects and Principles', 1908.

continued into the following decade.

These two societies were the first secular bodies to attempt to influence whites regarding the formulation and implementation of a 'liberal native policy'. The structures and inner workings of the societies had more in common with voluntary urban associations dealing with the production of secular knowledge, than with traditional missionary concerns. During the first decade of this century what little active philanthropic work there was among urban blacks was essentially church-based and manifested in the initiation of mission medical work, the establishment of hostels for Christian African women and the running of small informal night schools. The construction of churches, training of African catechists and coping with Ethiopianism were the usual priorities for the Protestant churches and the majority of mission societies operating in urban centres. Nascent social work by the churches and missions was grossly underfinanced and conducted on an **ad hoc** basis. Most of these interventions still bore the mark of the mid-Victorian notion that religious proselytism was itself designed to ameliorate poverty, moral degeneracy and ignorance. However, the establishment in 1909 of the Women's Mission Association (later Auxiliary) of St. John the Divine in Cape Town was an indication of the beginnings of some secularization and extension of mission activities.[54]

An under-researched aspect relating to the emergence of new social reformist ideas and practices in South Africa during the early 20th century, is the migration to the country of a number of English clergy - largely Anglicans - of a Christian socialist outlook.[55] Walter Carey, Bishop of Bloemfon-

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54. It should be noted that the Association carried out little or no actual welfare work before Union. Church of the Province of South Africa Records, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, Women's Missionary Auxiliary, Minute Book, 1909-1914.

55. Bishops Talbot, Karney and Carey of Pretoria, Johannesburg and Bloemfontein respectively, were among those who came from a Christian-socialist background. All three were involved in joint council activities in their dioceses in the 1920s.

tein in the 1920s, was one of this group.

> I felt [he reminisced] that I didn't want simply to keep free from a naughty world, I wanted to make England a paradise - a living, loving part of Christ's kingdom; and that embraced housing, slums, hours, conditions of life, holidays - everything. All had to be transformed... So I soon mentally and spiritually strayed towards Dolling and Scott Holland. It was Holland who sent me off in 1904 to South Africa to take part in the well-known Mission of Help there.[56]

Yet, until the 1920s there is little evidence of 'crusades' by these priests in African slums. Perhaps inherited distinctions between 'English' and 'native work'[57] in Anglican and Methodist mission work conditioned the priorities and perceptions of the newly-arrived priests and missionaries. Also, the subordinate classes of English cities were possibly more resistant to direct religious proselytism. With urban African popular culture still in a formative state, interventions from those clergy of a Christian socialist bent could still take the form of overt evangelism. It could also be argued that Christianity had a far more instrumental value for Africans.

It was the Natal section of the American Board of Foreign Missions (ABM) which first developed a coherent philanthropic response - in terms of both theory and practice - to African urbanization. Frederick Bridgman,[58] who took charge of the Board's Durban station, was a moving spirit in this regard. According to Rich, he managed to defuse secessionism within the Natal branches and to develop a strategy of co-option of the African elite in control of Ethiopian and other independent church movements.[59] Bridgman also helped to extend the mission's appeal to a growing African working class in Durban.

It is helpful to examine the ABM's social reformism in the Durban area

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56. W. Carey, **Good Bye to My Generation** (1951), 23-24. See also P. Hinchliff, **The Anglican Church in South Africa** (London, 1963), 231, regarding the impact of 'the heroic crusades of Anglo-Catholic priests' on the Anglican Church in South Africa.

57. Hinchliff, **The Anglican Church in South Africa**, 194.

58. See Appendix A.

59. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 85-88; F. Bridgman, 'The Ethiopian Menace in South Africa', **The Missionary Review of the World**, June 1904.

as it anticipates a series of philanthropic interventions and tactics on the Rand after World War I.[60] In 1904 a dispensary was opened and over 4 000 cases treated. A night school was established in the inner city and later supplemented by two schools in the white suburbs. A 1904 draft plan envisaged the creation of 'a social settlement' which included 'either a pastors' home, a home for visiting girls, or probably reading, game and recreation rooms after the YMCA order', and embodied a number of future aspects of 'native welfare' work.[61] The idea of setting up a social centre on YMCA lines was to finally find expression in the establishment of the Bantu Men's Social Centre (BMSC) in Johannesburg in 1924. Bridgman's wife, Clara, pioneered work among female urban Africans,[62] and by the end of the decade 'women's work' had become an accepted practice with temperance and prayer meetings being the chief activities. An enthusiasm for temperance led to other forms of philanthropic intervention including,

> ...some visiting of the women in their homes (if they may be called such) ... Such visiting usually means going to the dens where beer is bought and sold.[63]

By 1909, if not sooner, Bridgman had established himself as a de facto adviser to the Durban Town Council regarding the administration of urban blacks and migrant workers. The extent of the liaison between Bridgman and the Durban municipality does not appear to have been paralleled in other major towns in South Africa, though there may well have been undocumented cases. It is all too easy to overstress the philanthropism of the Durban Town Council. Indeed, as Swanson has argued, the 'Durban System' was an important source of

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60. For further detail regarding the ABM's work in Durban see Appendix B.

61. ABM Papers, Vol 23, Annual Report (written by Bridgman), Durban, 1904-1905.

62. For a detailed examination of white philanthropic effort amongst African women see Gaitskell, 'Female Mission Initiatives'.

63. ABM Papers, Vol 23, Annual Report, Durban, June 1908-June 1909.

urban segregation and techniques of control, not to mention money.[64] Interestingly, the principle of funding African housing through revenue generated by a municipal beer monopoly, which was instituted in Durban in 1909, was regarded as a philanthropic measure in certain quarters (though not by the ABM). 'Many public-spirited people', wrote Rev. J. Lennox a decade or later, 'are in favour of this system'.[65]

Partly because urban locations were often in the process of being built in the 1900s, there was little in the way of a critique of the appalling conditions experienced by the inhabitants. Contemporary commentaries on location conditions dwelt on the need to reproduce 'familiar restraints' - including the family and social structures of rural villages. The political and civic aspirations of an emergent African petty bourgeoisie were obliquely and selectively acknowledged in generalized phrases such as: 'to lay on the town native the responsibility for his own social order which he would have in village life'.[66] Other issues were glossed over, for example; the lack of access of African traders to commercial sites. In short, African urbanization was not seen as an established, irreversible reality. Indeed the underdeveloped state of philanthropic ventures in urban centres reflected in part a pervasive perception among whites of Africans as naturally an agricultural and pastoral people with little or no experience of poverty, a view which persisted well into the decade after Union.[67]

The increase in the African urban population became more pronounced[68]

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64. Swanson, 'The Durban System'.

65. International Missionary Council/Conference of British Missionary Societies Papers (IMC/CBMS), School of Oriental and African Studies Archives, London University, Box 1227, File D. J.M. Lennox to J.H. Oldham, n.d. probably early 1920s.

66. **Christian Express**, October 1906.

67. See e.g. Howard Pim Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, Ce2, H. Pim to F.E. Lawrence, 13 May 1913; Dubow, **Racial Segregation**, 23-24.

68. See Appendix D for statistics on urbanization.

after evictions under the implementation of the 1913 Land Act. In addition, many demobilized African servicemen choose to live in towns after World War I. Increased African urbanization was also related to the significant growth of the local manufacturing industry during and after the war years. The growing visibility of Africans may well have conditioned the timing and form of philanthropic ventures during 1910-1920. However, class formation amongst whites in the towns - manifested, for example, in the growing number of middle and upper-middle class white women with leisure time and the development of new urban cultural societies - was also a factor in the construction of a 'social conscience'. The increasing involvement of women in urban literary societies, for instance, led to the burgeoning of philanthropic interests:

> There is no doubt [remarked Jessie Hertslet in 1912] that colonial men and women are growing interested in the natives. It is significant that the Durban Home Readers' Union, composed of many of the leading Durban ladies has taken for its reading this year books dealing with the natives.[69]

There was a perceptible widening of the field of 'women's work' in the years immediately after Union. One of the most significant developments in this respect was the **Inhlangano Yabondhlayo** (IYO) which was begun in rural Natal in 1912. The IYO, or Mothercraft League as it was later known, was described by its founding committee as 'a league for teaching native women their responsibilities as mothers'.[70] Branches of IYO were to be formed in towns and on mission stations, or to link together existing organizations. A newsheet was to be issued every two months containing material on 'the spiritual, moral and mental training of children', 'hygiene for the native home' and

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69. E.M. Molteno Papers, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town (UCT), BC 331, File 2, circular letter from J. Hertslet, general secretary of **Inhlangano Yabonhlayo**, May 1912.

70. **Ibid.**

'other matters suitable for mothers'.[71] It was hoped that finance would be forthcoming from 'colonial ladies' for this was an opportunity for them 'to help a form of mission work that ... commend[ed] itself to even the most determined negrophobe among them'.[72]

When Jessie Hertslet and Clara Bridgman, founder members of the IYO, moved to the Rand, they continued their association in philanthropic work among women.[73] Hertslet's range of activities, like that of Clara Bridgman, was extensive. Her persistent efforts to persuade white women and girls to demonstrate more enlightened attitudes towards Africans - the attempted development of a kind of etiquette of 'race relations' - are, in retrospect, a reminder of just how crucial (white) women philanthropists were in the making or elaboration of social reformist attitudes and practices regarding Africans.

The growing involvement of women in what can loosely be described as welfare work among Africans, can be related to the appearance after Union of a social reformism which drew substantially from English social thought and found its expression mostly in liberal Christian publications such as the **Christian Express, South African Friend** and **South African Quarterly.** Sanitary reform, suffragette feminism and Fabian positivism were among the currents of thought which can be detected in this discourse.

Formal commissions of enquiries (usually state appointed) played an important role in conditioning periodic revisions or reformulations of liberal and philanthropic notions. Two commissions in particular, the 1911 Assaults on Women Commission and the 1914 Tuberculosis Commission, contributed to the interaction between social reformist thought and perceptions of the

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71. As Deborah Gaitskell has shown, the preservation of chastity was one of the prime concerns of Christian women philanthropists and informed their activities, particularly the founding of hostels for African women and girls in large urban centres. Gaitskell, 'Christian Compounds for Girls', 44-45.

72. E.M. Molteno Papers, BC 331, File 2, circular letter from Hertslet.

73. **South African Ambassador**, November 1919, 9.

social conditions of urban Africans.[74] White philanthropic interest was stimulated by the declaration of the Commissions that municipalities were responsible for the provision of African housing. Indeed, during 1913-1914 small groups of municipal reformers appeared who took as their premise the proposition that municipalities were responsible for both the provision of adequate housing for urban blacks[75] and the effective control and supervision of this group.[76] Growing ideological linkages between sanitation and morality were not only manifested in calls for slum clearance and new (segregated) locations, but also in the growth of interest in the architecture of sanitation in existing and planned locations.[77]

Along with the development of social reformism immediately after Union, there were the beginnings of new libertarian initiatives around civil rights which were conditioned by the increased political assertiveness of Africans and other blacks.[78] This politicization was underlined by the formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912 [79] and the subsequent establishment of the **Abantu Batho,**[80] the SANNC newspaper. Opposition to the 1913 Land Act was a further rallying point. Bridgman complained in late 1913 that,

> ...the race question here is becoming more and more difficult every day, the strain is very tense just now. The loss of native confidence in even

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74. **South African Friend**, September-November 1913, 36; Appendix B; Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 204-205.

75. IMC/CBMS, Box 1227, File D, Lennox to Oldham, n.d.

76. South African Natives Races Committee (ed), **The Natives of South Africa** (London, 1901), 39. Even in the early 1920s (when joint councils and Native welfare societies had been established in most large towns) one of the accepted channels for voluntary philanthropic work relating to blacks was the municipality.

77. L. Hertslet, 'After Segregation - What Then?' **South African Friend**, December 1913-February 1914.

78. For a detailed account of the growth of African political consciousness during the early 20th century see Odendaal, **The Beginnings of Black Protest**; Walshe, **The Rise of African Nationalism**, 1-24.

79. On the formation of the South African Native Congress see Walshe, **The Rise of African Nationalism**, 30-37.

80. **Ibid.**, 167-168; J. Simons and R. Simons, **Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950** (London, 1983), 195-197.

the good intentions of the whites and white government is widespread.[81] A loss of confidence by Africans in 'friends of the natives' was not simply the result of a heightened politicization: it was also tied up with the migration of Africans to industrial towns, impersonal and increasingly segregated, and the emergence of an urban petty bourgeoisie and a working class in these centres. Particularly in the newer industrial cities the onus was on whites to establish or reconstruct philanthropic relationships.

While the politicization of Africans was most pronounced on the Rand, it was Cape Town with its relatively small urban African population which saw the first institutional attempt by whites to establish links with a younger generation of African leaders. The South African Society (initially the African Society) was formed by a small group of white intellectuals in the wake of the 1913 Land Act with the stated object of promoting 'the welfare of the Native and Coloured Races for their own sake and in the interests of the whole country'.[82] The Society was partly modelled on the APS[83] and represented more than a reiteration of orthodox turn-of-the-century Cape liberalism. There were at least two Fabians in the Society, as well as a Suffragette-feminist element. The Society collapsed in 1916 following the death of its energetic secretary Arnold Wynne on the Western Front, but a few of its members maintained their interests in liberal and philanthropic activities in regard to Africans.

On the Rand in the years following the break-up of NAST, it was initially Indian - rather than African - protest politics that attracted Pim and other liberals such as William Hosken and H.S.L. Polak.[84] In Natal, with the exception of Bridgman, the forging of personal links with African political

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81. ABM Papers, Vol 30, Bridgman to E. Bell, 4 December 1913.

82. Cited Walshe, **The Rise of African Nationalism**, 247.

83. British Empire Manuscripts (MSS Brit Emp), Rhodes House Library, Oxford University, Aborigines Protection Society Papers (APSP), G201, South African Society, M. White to Buxton, 9 April 1914.

84. See H.S.L. Polak, **A Tragedy of Empire: The Treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal** (1909).

leaders does not seem to have been a priority with white philanthropists and proto-liberals. The emphasis was on theorizing about ways of liaising with Africans. Influential in this respect was the post-1910 segregationist writings of Maurice Evans and Lewis Hertslet, especially the former. Both were members of the NNARC, which was renamed the Natal Native Affairs Reform Association (NNARA) in 1913. With the departure of Bridgman and Hertslet for Johannesburg in 1913 and 1914 respectively, Evans assumed a dominant role in the organization.[85] Hertslet addressed himself to the more 'practical' issues of the welfare of urban Africans, and quite possibly was influential in nudging the NNARA in a more welfarist direction.[86]

In his writings, Evans refused to adequately recognize the presence of an emergent urban African petty bourgeoisie. A point which needs to be considered is that there existed a distinct disjunction between the practical philanthropic activities of whites such as Evans, and their writings. For instance, welfare work among urban Africans could suggest a tacit acceptance or subconscious recognition of the permanency of their urbanization. Evans's opposition to African urbanization was conditioned by a tour of the United States he made in 1912 which resulted in a book entitled **Black and White in the Southern States.** Although the drawing of analogies between South Africa and the American South was commonplace among those writing about 'Native affairs', Evans was the first to systematically use the terminology of an emerging discourse on 'race relations'. He consciously saw himself as redefining the 'native question' and terms such as 'race betterment', 'race relations' and 'ethnic virtue of the European and Bantu peoples' recur in his

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85. An early account of the genesis of the Joint Councils states: 'There were Native Welfare Societies in various parts of South Africa for many years before the Joint Council movement was established. Perhaps the most effective was that led by Dr Maurice Evans in Durban.' JCR, Ad13, History of the Joint Councils, c.1931.

86. Little is known about the nature and extent of its welfarist activities. It was, however, used as a model by the Pretoria Native Welfare Association. JCR, Cp9.4, Pretoria Native Welfare Association (PNWA), Association Minutes, 31 March 1919.

later writings. In retrospect it is a question of semantics, with Evans selectively invoking the fledgling 'race relations' sociology and the hostility evinced by white Americans towards blacks. Yet, whether Evans can be accused of hypocrisy is questionable. His reluctance to find and consider conflicting evidence needs to be related to the assumptions and stereotypes embodied in his analyses. These include the notions that 'race contact' leads to 'race deterioration', that the children of black and white parents 'form a hybrid race of unstable characteristics' and that 'the races are so different in capacity, character and culture that identical treatment is impossible'.[87]

These assumptions short-circuited his analyses. For example, his observations in the United States are coloured by the assumption (which appears as a 'fact') that the 'racial problems' of the American South and South Africa are similar. Thus, the 'evidence' collected in the Southern States confirmed rather than undercut his main hypothesis that 'points of contact' between black and white had to be reduced as far as possible. It should be pointed out, however, that Evans's tour of the Southern States took place at a time when there was a move in the direction of increased institutionalized segregation and when lynching of blacks had not been stamped out. Also, American studies on 'race relations' in the early twentieth century, as Frazier argues, 'asserted the Negro's inferior social heredity, low possibility of assimilation and the undesirability of physical miscegenation'.[88]

Part of Evans's significance as a progenitor of 'native welfare' and 'inter-racial' ventures lies in the personal links he forged and maintained and the networks in which he participated.[89] Crucial in this regard was his

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87. M. Evans, **Suggestions Towards a Solution of the Native Problem** (Durban, 1918), 1-4.

88. E.F. Frazier, 'Sociological Theory and Race Relations', **American Sociological Review**, XII, 1947.

89. E.g. he was one of the patrons of the South African Society.

association with C.T. Loram[90] who was appointed the first Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal in 1918 , and went on to play an influential role in liberal activities. Loram studied in the 1910s in New York under Mabel Carney at Columbia. Carney was one of the early 'race relations' experts - especially 'race relations' in a rural setting. Loram's introduction to 'native work' came from several missionaries, including some from the American Board, and especially from Evans.

> To be sure [he wrote in 1931] I did not actually get into native work at once, but associated myself with Mr Maurice Evans and the other stalwarts of the Natal Native Affairs Reform Association.[91]

Like Evans, Loram had studied the functioning of Tuskegee and Hampton at first hand and had met their respective principles. For Loram, who was developing 'a new system of native education' during 1918-1920,[92] it was 'in the proper education of the native that the greatest hope for the settlement of the native question lies'.[93] And 'proper education' for Africans lay along the lines of the industrial education of Tuskegee and Hampton.[94]

On the Rand the ABM continued to take a progressive stance in urban mission work. After moving to this area in 1913 the Bridgmans soon realized that certain groups of Africans such as the city slum-dwellers, domestic servants in white suburbs and residents of urban locations, had been largely untouched by mission effort. Frederick Bridgman encountered much opposition from white residents to mission work in the suburbs,[95] but he was encouraged

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90. See Appendix A for biographical notes.

91. A.B. Xuma Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, ABX310630b, circular letter sent by C.T. Loram, 30 June 1931.

92. Ibid.

93. C.T. Loram, **The Education of the South African Native** (London, 1917), viii.

94. Writing in 1917, J. Dexter Taylor praised Loram for securing the ABM-run Amanzimtoti Institute 'the privilege of creating its own curriculum, along the Hampton lines plus cultural training'. ABM Papers, Vol 29, draft paper by J. Dexter Taylor entitled, 'Amanzimtoti, the Hampton of Natal', 1917.

95. ABM Papers, Vol 29, Annual Report for Transvaal District, June 1913.

by the efforts of his wife in opening a day school in Doornfontein (the inner city) and in establishing a rudimentary child welfare operation focusing on the slum children.[96] Bridgman spent 1916 in the USA and returned to find the various missions still complacent about the challenges and problems of urban mission work, especially the subject of 'amusements for natives'.[97] Although he realized that the ABM could 'only do a little toward meeting the need of so wide a field' he hoped the mission would 'serve as a pioneer to point the way'. He suggested the establishment of 'two or three social centres' with each serving 'a different class of native, in the city, on the mines and in a location'. The structure of these centres was similar to that he had mooted in Durban and included a hall, social, reading and game rooms and a medical dispensary. If outside support for such centres was not forthcoming, 'considerable work' could be done 'on social service lines':

> Given the workers, with a small amount of apparatus, the athletic and entertainment spheres may be entered. The stereoptician, bioscope and a glee club could undertake much useful work in compounds and other quarters.[98]

Meanwhile, Clara Bridgman continued with her work among African women, and with the assistance of a 'committee of white ladies' established the Helping Hands Club. This 'social and educational centre for native girls' represented an attempt to instill discipline and a new domesticity among maids, many of whom were in their teens and 'bold, independent and of loose character'.[99]

The arrival of Rev. Ray E. Phillips and his wife in November 1918 to run the new 'social service and recreation department', gave a boost to Bridgman's work and plans. The newcomers assisted **inter alia** in the work among children

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96. **Ibid.**, Bridgman, Notes from the Transvaal, 1 May 1915.

97. **Ibid.**, Annual Report for Transvaal District, June 1917.

98. **Ibid.**

99. **Ibid.**, Annual Report for Transvaal District, June 1919.

in the city slums and Ray Phillips established troops of Pathfinders (a form of Boy Scouts). The Pathfinders were in part a response of what was perceived to be a growing problem of juvenile delinquency and the movement's quasi-military structure was indicative of a desire to inculcate discipline and kindred 'respectable' moral values. Bridgman found Phillips 'a veritable dynamo' and within a month of his arrival the latter had organized recreational evenings at several mine compounds with 'games, varied stunts of skill and endurance, music and magic lantern shows making up the programmes'.[100] The showing of films, carefully selected, later became the focal point of these evenings and Phillips's operation, financed by the Chamber of Mines, took in the whole of the Witwatersrand.[101]

Phillips's efforts to open lines of communication with a rising class of militant educated Africans by means of a cultural and educational programme, met with a subdued reception at first. He persevered and, according to Bridgman, by 'manly appeal he ... succeeded in securing the nucleus of what might be described as a university club'.[102] The Gamma Sigma Club,[103] modelled on the letter societies of Yale and Harvard, presented Africans with an elitist alternative (with ethnic overtones) to radical political ideologies.[104] The Club, as Phillips later recalled, was instrumental in forging personal links between an African intelligentsia and liberal and other sympathetic whites - a construction of interpersonal relationships between white and African which the Johannesburg Joint Council accomplished on a larger scale.

Meeting with European speakers tends to broaden the understanding of

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100. Ibid.

101. Couzens, 'Moralizing Leisure Time', 321.

102. Ibid.

103. The name was derived from the initial Greek letters of Socrates' motto, 'Know Thyself". R. Phillips, **The Bantu in the City** (Lovedale, 1938), 301.

104. ABM Papers, circular letter from Rev R. Phillips, 11 May 1919.

> club members regarding the difficulties faced by liberal Europeans on race issues. On the other hand , the impression made by native members upon visitors, namely, that of being a keen, intelligent, cultured group, deserving of trust and a larger measure of consideration, has undoubtedly educated white opinion in various quarters.[105]

The growing alienation between whites and Africans was also the concern of an important meeting organized by the Quakers on 19 April 1919 and addressed by J. Henderson of Lovedale. Among those present were Bridgman, Phillips, Pim, Hosken, and Michael Furse, the Bishop of Pretoria. A further meeting followed, which led to the formation of the Johannesburg Native Welfare Association (JNWA), with Pim as chairman and Ray Phillips and Lewis Hertslet as joint secretaries. Although the JNWA shared NAST's concern with social enquiry, it saw the purpose of such enquiry as 'securing fair and just treatment for the native races' rather than the more comprehensive aim of formulating a uniform 'native policy'. The Association also undertook 'to ascertain and disseminate considered native opinion' - a definite advance on NAST's standpoint. However, there was no mention of possible African membership.[106] Despite its name it does not appear that the JNWA was particularly active as a welfare body. The concerns and membership of the JNWA overlapped with two organizations which were set up at the same time and were indicative of the coalescing liberal intelligentsia on the Rand. As W. M. Macmillan[107] remembers, it was

> ...on the Rand perhaps more than anywhere else (that) there were many highly observant citizens anxious to give thought to public affairs. It was probably one such inquirer, J.D. Rheinallt Jones, who was responsible for collecting together a body which came to be known as The Eclectic - a nucleus of university people, and a good representation of businessmen in the widest sense - which met at least monthly in the YMCA to discuss current affairs. At least occasionally the trade unionists made their contribution, and also the clergy (especially those with a missionary interest) who, under the leadership of the Bishop, made sure

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105. R. Phillips, **The Bantu in the City**, 301.

106. **The South African Ambassador**, November 1919, 9.

107. See Appendix A for biographical note.

that African interests were well to the fore.[108]

Apart from The Eclectic, a Social Welfare Society was formed in mid-1919 following a meeting by 'a small group of men' concerned with 'the whole question of poverty in South Africa'.[109] Macmillan and Rheinallt Jones were among the members. Interestingly, Macmillan had also been one of the founders of the Grahamstown Social Welfare League (1915) while lecturing at Rhodes University.[110]

The shift from the phrase 'welfare of the native' which was fairly widely used in the early 20th century, to the term 'native welfare' was more than a question of semantics. The increasing use of the term 'native welfare' appears to have coincided with the emergence of a new discourse on social welfare (including child welfare) which made its mark in South Africa during and immediately after the war years.

The Pretoria Native Welfare Association (PNWA) was the first society to institutionalize the term 'native welfare', though its minute book is obscure as to the precise reason.[111] The Association had its origin in a meeting held on 25 March 1919 to 'consider the possibility of instituting some form of social work in the Pretoria location'. Liaison with urban Africans was adopted as a working principle by the Association and links were made with the Native Advisory Committee of the Pretoria locations and the local Native Ministers' Association. The PNWA predated the JNWA and thus underlines a need for a more sophisticated conceptualization of the liberal and philanthropic ventures of the immediate postwar years than the prevailing view that these ventures were

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108. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 160.

109. **The South African Ambassador**, August 1919, 8.

110. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 119-122.

111. The name 'Native Affairs Reform Association', which was first mooted, was discarded on the grounds that it 'gave rise to misunderstanding and prejudice as to the objects of the Association'. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 31 March 1919.

essentially a reflexive response to mass political action by Africans, which found its focus on the Rand. A concern among humanitarian whites with the lack of 'control' of a growing and diversifying urban African population was an important dynamic. The first annual report of the PNWA Executive was silent with respect to African protest, but stressed the Executive's anxiety 'about the many evils which are inherent in the present system under which young native women are permitted to remain in towns under no control'.[112]

However, the notion of 'social control' in understanding the genesis and functioning of voluntary philanthropic and liberal agencies can be overworked. What must also be taken into account is the development of a critique of the social conditions of urban Africans - a development which was related to the emergence of a group of liberal intelligentsia associated with the new universities, Transvaal University College (Pretoria) and the University of Witwatersrand.

A tacit philanthropic strategy concerned with establishing lines of communication and surveillance with politically active African petty bourgeoisie was partly the result of the ramification of certain local and sectarian philanthropic networks and increased interaction between state-sponsored and voluntary activities. There are a number of examples of the drawing together of philanthropic networks: the 1919 meeting organized by the Quakers, the links between the PNWA and NNARA and the propagandizing work of the eponymous Bridgman. A developing philanthropic strategy aimed at defusing African protest through essentially extra-parliamentary means was informed by several state-appointed commissions, the Moffat Commission in particular. The 1918 Moffat Report on African strikes on the Rand constituted an important reference point for a nascent South African liberalism.[113] During 1918-1920 calls

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112. JCR, Cp2.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1919-1920.

113. For a contemporary and broadly liberal assessment of the report, see e.g. The South African Ambassador, November 1919, 9.

intensified from liberals and philanthropists for the state to provide structures of liaison with educated Africans. This can be seen in the concerns of a Witwatersrand Council of Churches delegation which interviewed F.S. Malan, the Minister of Native Affairs, in December 1918. Bridgman, as one of the delegates,

> ...raised the question of Native Councils. He felt there was room for something on the lines of the Transkeian General Council. At present the Transvaal Native Congress was the mouthpiece of native feeling in the Transvaal. He felt it was a pity that this organization should be given the monopoly of representing native opinion which they do not really represent.[114]

The 1920 Native Affairs Act, which established segregated political institutions, may well have been - in part - a response to such representations. Certainly the measure was generally welcomed by liberals. In the same year the Chamber of Mines set up a newspaper, **Umteteli wa Bantu**, in an explicit move to counter the **Abantu Batho**. This move reflects the implicit consensus by 1920 between state, mining capital and 'friends of the native' that additional or alternative structures had to be created (by whites) to cater for and control African protest and welfare.

Perhaps the clearest indication of a coalescing philanthropic strategy can be seen in the plans of Loram on his appointment to the Native Affairs Commission (NAC) in 1920. Education, in the broadest sense of the word, still preoccupied him. Already in 1920, it seems, he envisaged the large-scale application in the spheres of primary and adult school education of non-denominational Christian instruction (preferably state-run) utilizing ideas drawn from the Jeanes and Hampton/Tuskegee models.[115] Such education would constitute a comprehensive social and cultural service in the towns and the countryside and by implication extend moral control. He also emphasized the need to

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114. F.S. Malan Papers, Cape Archives Depot (CAD), Vol 18, Interview of Deputation from the Transvaal Free Church Council with the Minister of Native Affairs at Johannesburg, 12 December 1918.

115. See Legassick, 'C.T. Loram'.

co-ordinate and encourage native welfare societies.[116] A structural flaw in this scheme was the lack of provision for African members on these societies. While the creation of white **agents d'liason** was important, African agents were vital, especially on the Rand. And the next 'logical' step, following the institutionalization of 'native welfare', was the establishment of voluntary agencies with an 'inter-racial' membership.

CONCLUSION

The making of urban space and the establishment of the geopolitical foundation of a new nation state during the first two decades of the twentieth century, contributed to the emergence of new and modified kinds of ideas and practices **vis-a-vis** the 'welfare' of Africans. Broadly, at the level of secular activity, one sees the establishment and then supercession of societies talking about Africans, by societies beginning to intervene in the daily lives of urban Africans. One also sees the coalescing of the social reformist practices of the more modern and activist Church organizations - the American Board of Missions in particular - with those of the voluntary secular societies. In addition, there was a gradual disentangling of philanthropic concerns from prescriptions for heightened control of Africans through extensive racial segregation. While most, if not all, whites involved in 'native welfare' ventures held segregationist views or assumptions, the thrust of philanthropic interventions - which tended to confirm the permanency of African urbanization - could and did run counter to such assumptions.

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116. J.X. Merriman Papers, South African Public Library, Cape Town, Loram to Merriman, 15 November 1920.

CHAPTER 2

THE GENESIS OF THE JOINT COUNCILS

Traditionally, the genesis of the Joint Council 'movement' has been ascribed to the intervention of two visiting members of the Phelps Stokes Commission on Education in Africa,[1] James Aggrey and Thomas Jesse Jones,[2] at a time of heightened African protest in South Africa.[3] As Rheinallt Jones remarked a decade later:

> Serious racial tension in Johannesburg in 1921 led the late Dr Aggrey and Dr T. Jesse Jones (who were in SA on an educational inquiry) to urge that an experiment in race relations in SA should be tried by the formation of an inter-racial council on the lines of the Inter-Racial Commissions established in many Southern towns in the United States during and after the Great War. Their efforts were successful and the experiment has been followed up by the establishment of joint councils at other centres.[4]

However, whilst these Commissioners played something of a catalytic role, the general momentum prior to 1921 towards institutional inter-racial co-operation is neglected in these accounts. In this chapter it will be shown that the joint council movement was in part an extension of the institutionalization of 'native welfare' analysed in the previous chapter. Despite increasing black-white hostility, the year or so preceding the establishment of the Johannesburg Joint Council witnessed an intensification of white philanthropic effort regarding Africans, and tentative moves towards formalized liaison between whites and Africans. The central and local state began providing Africans with

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1. In 1909 an American, Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes, bequeathed approximately £1 million for the 'education of Negroes, both in Africa and the United States, North American Indians and the needy and deserving white students'. After a survey of black education was conducted in the USA in 1913 and 1914 by Dr T. Jesse James, it was decided that the Phelps Stokes Trustees would finance a similar survey in Africa. After travelling through Africa, the Phelp Stokes Commissioners arrived in South Africa in 1921. Couzens, 'Moralizing Leisure Time', 315.

2. See Appendix A for biographical details.

3. See e.g. Horton, 'South Africa's Joint Councils'; Hirson, 'Tuskegee'; Couzens, 'Moralizing Leisure Time'.

4. JCR, Aa3.6, 'Brief Report on the Joint Council Movement' by J.D. Rheinallt Jones, 1933.

a limited number of official communication structures. Africans were also beginning to consider new forms of accommodationism with the white-dominated society and economy. This situation is well illustrated by the comments of D.D.T. Jabavu about the last few months of 1920:

> ....a number of arresting events, some ominous, others promising, [these] are the Port Elizabeth riots with other strike-threatening movements elsewhere, on the one hand; and the discussions on the native elementary vote in the Transvaal Provincial Council, Rand European meetings for the study of the native question, and the spread of native welfare associations up-country and in the Cape, on the other hand.[5]

In general, there was a growth in the politicization of the African petty bourgeoisie during the final stages of the First World War and immediately after. This was particularly so on the Rand where the political elite of the Transvaal African Congress were temporarily involved in mass protest politics - a shift away from the usual tactics of respectful representations to the government. However, according to a number of historians, there was a distinct decline by 1920 in the militancy of the political elite in the Transvaal.[6] Paul Rich argues that the Transvaal African Congress (TAC)[7] lost support partly because of its somewhat vacillating leadership during the 1919 pass campaign and that this made possible some form of collaboration with reform-oriented institutions.[8] However, the activities and degree of politicization of this group cannot adequately be understood by focussing narrowly on its involvement in populist protest and the shifting fortunes of the African National Congress (ANC). A cause, as well as consequence, of the decline of the TAC was the tendency of the African petty bourgeoisie to form or par-

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5. D.D.T. Jabavu, **The Black Problem: Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems**, second edition (Lovedale, 1921), preface.

6. Bonner, 'The Transvaal Native Congress'; A. Proctor, 'Class Struggle, Segregation and the City: A History of Sophiatown, 1905-1940' in B. Bozzoli (ed), **Labour, Townships and Protest** (Johannesburg, 1979); Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 337-357.

7. The Transvaal African Congress was one of the provincial congresses of the African National Congress.

8. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 338.

ticipate in organizations with a narrow class base.[9] This was reflected inter alia in the establishment of the Transvaal Native Mine Clerks' Association in 1920, the opening of location advisory boards throughout the Reef during 1920-1921 and the subsequent formation in 1922 of an umbrella body, the Witwatersrand Advisory Boards Congress.[10] The advisory boards were established under the 1920 Natives Affairs Act, which was in part a response to heightened African protest.

Little is known of the nature and extent to which the petty bourgeoisie were politicized in other main centres during 1918-1920. Unlike the Rand, some of these centres, East London[11] and Port Elizabeth[12] in particular, seem to have experienced an upsurge in general agitation during late 1920 and after. At the same time, however, there were signs of a willingness to explore alliances of accommodation.[13] The inception of an advisory board for East London's chief location in late 1920, partly at the behest of the residents themselves, is one such example.[14] In a speech to the inaugural meeting of the East London Native Welfare Association, the mayor of East London commented on this issue:

> The situation in South Africa is rapidly becoming critical. Such events as the Lovedale strike, the Port Elizabeth riot and the Queenstown land seizure are but the outward and visible sign of a change of attitude on the part of natives. We should be guilty of negligence to ourselves,

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9. Close studies of these various organizations are essential if historians are to understand adequately the formation of an urban African petty bourgeoisie in the early twentieth century.

10. For a short general history of the Advisory Boards see T.R.H. Davenport, 'Urban African Self-Government: The First Abortive Phase' (Cape Town History Workshop seminar paper, UCT, 1982); R. Bloch, 'Using the "Institutions of the Oppressor": African Advisory Boards 1923-1948', (unpublished research paper, South African Economic History, UCT, 1979).

11. **Daily Dispatch**, 21 January 1921.

12. Davenport, **South Africa: A Modern History**, 263.

13. See e.g. Z.K. Matthews, **Freedom for my People: The Autobiography of Z.K. Matthews, South Africa 1901-1968** (Cape Town, 1983), 88.

14. CAD, East London Municipal Records, Minute Book, December 1920.

> our town and our country, if we failed to read the lessons contained in such events. The native... is thoroughly discontented and ... it is part of the wisdom to inquire into the causes of his discontent ... It is surprising how little we know about our natives. How they work or don't work we know, but how they live in towns or the country, how they die, what they are thinking, and many other things about them we do not know, and these are the things which we ought to know and which we must know if we are to make this country safe for them and for us.[15]

There were a number of factors facilitating the adoption of accommodationist alliances and strategies - both official and unofficial - by the African petty bourgeoisie. This group still had weak social and economic links in the cities, a position not helped by the tightening of urban segregationist practices and the passing of the 1913 Natives Land Act.[16] There existed an acute desire to own private property and to have security of tenure. 'Security of tenure', Jabavu remarked to the 1923 Select Committee on the Urban Areas Bill, 'is one of the fundamental facts (in this Bill) which the natives cannot afford to forgo'.[17] It was this need for secure individual freehold that helps explain the apparent endorsement of aspects of the ideology of segregation by politically conscious Africans during the early 1920s. H. Selby Msimang's[18] comment to the same Committee underlines this point:

> It is the general opinion of the native people that when they accept the principle of segregation they believe that segregation carries with it an idea that natives in their own areas will enjoy the rights and privileges as are enjoyed by Europeans in their (European) areas, and that therefore in their own areas whether rural or urban they should be entitled to hold land in their own names.[19]

Difficulties in establishing urban businesses and accumulating capital other than through salaried work, also rendered the African petty bourgeoisie more willing to enter into arrangements implicitly or explicitly supportive of

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15. Ibid., notes of Mayor's speech for 20 January 1921.

16. See Davenport, **South Africa: A Modern History**, 260.

17. Extract from First Report of the Select Committee on Native Affairs (SC 3-23) in T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt (eds), **The Right to the Land** (Cape Town, 1974), 74.

18. See Appendix A for biographical note.

19. Davenport and Hunt, **The Right to the Land**, 74.

segregation.[20]

Although the early 1920s saw the consolidation and clarification of Garveyist[21] and socialist ideas,[22] it seems that the most attractive blend of analysis and strategy for the majority of the African petty bourgeoisie was a broad neo-conservative discourse. This conservatism was partly defined by an opposition to protagonists of 'nihilist Bolshevik doctrines' - a category which included members of the **Abantu Batho** group - and found its most obvious material support in the founding of the newspaper **Umteteli wa Bantu.** The better financed and equipped **Umteteli** not only achieved higher circulation figures, but also appears to have captured part of the readership of the **Abantu Batho.**[23]

One of the leading ideologues of this conservatism was D.D.T. Jabavu who appears to have been actively influenced by the gradualist petty capitalist line of Booker T. Washington.[24] He had visited Tuskegee in 1913, then under the headship of Robert Moton, Washington's successor, and the experience had 'fired his soul'.[25] Partly through the offices of J.H. Henderson, Jabavu had forged during the immediate postwar period strong personal and ideological links with white philanthropists on the Rand, in particular with Pim, Phillips

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20. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 355.

21. See Appendix A for biographical note on Garvey. For further information on the impact of Garveyism in South Africa see R.A. Hill and G.A. Pirio, '"Africa for the Africans": The Garvey movement in South Africa, 1920-1940' in Marks and Trapido, **The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism.**

22. A process reinforced by the formation in 1921 of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Cape Town and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).

23. T.J. Couzens, 'A Short History of **The World** and other Black South African Newspapers' (unpublished paper, 1976).

24. See Appendix A. Further information on the policies of Booker T. Washington can be found in H. Hawkins (ed), **Booker T. Washington and his Critics: The Problem of Negro Leadership** (Boston 1962).

25. Cited in Hirson, 'Tuskegee'.

and Bridgman.[26] By the early 1920s Jabavu had come to straddle a variety of institutional networks shaping the intellectual, political and economic aspirations of African petty bourgeoisie in the eastern Cape and beyond. Among other activities, he had a direct say in the editorial policy and running of **Imvo Zabantsundu**,[27] he was on the executive of the Cape Native Voter's Convention and the Cape Native Teachers' Association, and was president of the South African Native Farmers' Congress.

In 1920 Jabavu began to call for 'counteractive forces' to 'atheistic and revolutionary' socialism, and in the **The Black Problem** outlined possible counter-strategies. Firstly,

> There should be more social workers such as Dr Bridgman and Rev. Ray Phillips in Johannesburg who are organizing for natives a sort of YMCA scheme. This is needed in every location, rural and urban, to heighten the tone of native life.

Secondly, efforts should be made

> .... to produce well educated native leaders trained in a favourable atmosphere, who will be endowed with commonsense, cool heads, with a sense of responsibility, and correct perspective in all things.[28]

A short examination of some of the main themes in Jabavu's writings is instructive. These have been described by D. Chanaiwa as 'Christianity, education, and economic self-determination along the Tuskegee model of Booker T. Washington'.[29] While Jabavu never discussed the subject of Christianity in any length in his writing, it functioned as an important touchstone in his thought. Jabavu's writings tended to affirm and extend the range of associations that Christianity held for Africans. These included the importance of mission education (and the resultant liberal humanist values), as well as a

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26. Jabavu was a guest speaker on more than one occasion at Johannesburg Native Welfare Association meetings.

27. **Imvo Zabantsundu** was a newspaper edited by Jabavu's brother, A.M.Jabavu.

28. Jabavu, **The Black Problem**, 15.

29. D. Chanaiwa, 'African Humanism in South Africa, 1850-1920: The Utopian, Traditionalist, and Colonialist Worlds of the Mission-Educated Elites' (International Conference on Southern African History seminar paper, National University of Lesotho, 1977).

life of integrity, thrift and industry.[30] He also voiced on occasions the frustration of African clergy and missionaries within the mainstream Protestant churches.[31] By opposing Christianity to black radical prescriptions, Jabavu was in effect posing something of a dilemma for politicized Africans, for Christian networks and humanism provided both a spiritual security, and a socio-economic resource. Although Christianity could underpin both accommodationism and resistance, in both respects it supported rather than questioned the accumulation of property by individuals or church bodies. For example, independent churches offered a means of acquiring land and capital, a process which, as Rich notes, reinforced accommodation to segregationist policies.[32]

Rural mythology - so often a reservoir tapped by conservative ideology - informed Jabavu's writings. He particularly invoked the back-to-the-land notion. For instance, in a 1920 article Jabavu argued that the time was ripe for the establishment of industries in densely populated rural locations. He contended that rural areas (including the 'reserves') were the most 'natural' site for African economic ventures. And one of the virtues of such schemes was that they 'will tend to keep natives away from town life'. Jabavu's apparent anti-urban bias was not simply an exercise in escapist thinking.[33] It would seem that he was touching on a half-stated aim of certain African petty bourgeois elements, that is, to gain hegemony over the African market (which would necessarily be largely rural).[34] He considered African economic

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30. See e.g. Jabavu, **The Black Problem**, 12-13; and D.D.T Jabavu, **What Methodism has done for the Natives** (Lovedale, 1923).

31. **Ibid.**

32. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 253.

33. **Christian Express**, 1 July 1920.

34. More research needs to be done in this field, but see e.g. testimony of Mesach Pelem to Select Committee on Native Affairs, 1920, cited in T.D. Karis and G.M. Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol I (Stanford, 1972), 114.

independence and advancement to be in the general interest of the country as a whole:

> ... it is the poverty of the native that is a drag on South Africa's economic progress; were he more skillful in strength, intelligent in organization, more used to the habit of regular work as the American Negro, and more economically independent, he could render South Africa not only richer and more productive, but would act as a stimulus to the white man himself to move on in developing the yet unfathomed wealth of this land.[35]

The key to African economic progress, Jabavu stressed, lay in the creation of a more productive and skilled artisan class through a restructured primary education system, in which emphasis would be placed on industrial education:

> ... the insufficiency of the native labour supply, its unreliable character, and the bad workmanship of the available labour are explained by the prevailing system of native elementary education which is too bookish and provides no systematic and sensible training in the habit of regular manual work where at all it is attempted.[36]

Jabavu appears to have used the notion of African economic self-help in relative rather than absolute terms. 'White' capital had to be attracted to the rural areas. This could be effected either through direct financial aid or by the formation of limited liability companies with African and white shareholders.

In his writings and pronouncements during this period, Jabavu was in effect indicating the broad outlines of a policy which could cater for even the most conservative and segregationist-minded white liberal. For one, the emphasis on the need for more vocational education was in line with what Loram[37] and others were urging the state. The notion of rural industries being established by Africans with white financial help was a scenario which allowed for a considerable degree of segregation in the social and economic sphere. Furthermore, he had marked out a strategy for whites to strengthen

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35. Christian Express, 1 July 1920.

36. Ibid.

37. See chapter 1.

'responsible' African leadership as a means of undercutting radical 'agitation'.

The polarization among the black American political elite regarding Washington's prescriptions for social change,[38] was not reproduced to any great extent in Africa and elsewhere. Outside America the Tuskegee model and Washington's brand of economic conservatism found disparate applications.[39] In Jamaica, as M. Marable points out, Marcus Garvey and other black nationalists were impressed with Washington's economic thought and 'approved of the implicit racial chauvinism within Washington's segregated political economy'.[40] In South Africa Washington's ideas, especially the gospel of thrift and material prosperity, were not essentially incompatible schools of thought associated with the views of Africans influenced by W.E.B. du Bois and Garvey. R.V. Selope Thema,[41] impressed with du Bois's writings, was particularly attracted to Washington's 'message' of material prosperity:

> It is realized [he wrote in 1917] that the development of our commercial value as a people will secure us a place in the affairs of civilized mankind. Today we are despised not simply because our skin is black, but chiefly because we are commercially and economically of little value.[42]

Accommodationist tendencies among the African petty bourgeoisie were reinforced during 1920 and early 1921 by an extension of white social reformist moves - official and unofficial. The living conditions of Africans, especially housing, featured strongly. Both the 1920 and 1921 Cape Municipal

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38. On this split see i.a. G. Myrdal, **An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy**, Vol II (New York, 1972), Chapter 35.

39. See e.g. S.M. Jacobs, **The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880-1920** (Westport, 1981); and K.J. King, **Pan Africanism and Education** (Oxford, 1971).

40. M. Marable, 'John L. Dube, Booker T. Washington and the Ideology of Conservative Black Nationalism' in D. Chanaiwa (ed), **Profiles of Self-Determination: African Responses to European Colonialism in Southern Africa, 1652-Present** (Northridge, 1976), 323.

41. See Appendix A.

42. MSS Brit Emp, APSP, G203, R.V. Selope Thema to Travers Buxton, n.d. but probably January 1917.

Congresses devoted considerable attention to this question. The 1921 conference, partly prompted by the congress president, P. D. Cluver of Stellenbosch, later Secretary of Public Health, linked municipal health reform - such as the improvement of locations - with a wider strategy for white and African 'progress' and co-operation 'to make this [South Africa] a mighty state'.[43] After the 1920 gathering the Municipal Congress Executive met 'representative natives selected by Eastern Province towns', interviewed the Prime Minister, and concluded that immediate action was needed, based on the following principles:

> That the native is the unskilled labourer of South Africa.
> That skilled labour, except in a few instances, is drifting into the hands of coloured and native workers.
> That the native is essential for the comfort of the white people and the progress and development of the country.
> That many natives have shown that they are capable of acquiring the white man's civilization, and amongst them are found cultured men who have benefited by higher education.
> That there is widespread dissatisfaction amongst the natives, and that Municipal locations are in a most unsatisfactory condition.[44]

On the broad front, Cluver pleaded for policies aimed at establishing a skilled urban-based workforce. This class, he stressed, should be given security of tenure. At the same time, however, comprehensive sanitary 'regulations' were required for the townships and the influx of migrant labour and casual workers had to be halted.[45]

In Pretoria and on the Rand the living conditions of urban Africans became a matter of white public debate. For example, in an open address on 25 March 1921, the Bishop of Pretoria slated the City Council for not going ahead with the establishment of a new location in place of Marabastad. He compared Marabastad to hell and urged his constituency 'to make their voices heard and

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43. E.M. Molteno Papers, Municipal Congress, Cape Town, 7 March 1921, Presidential Address by Councillor P.D. Cluver of Stellenbosch, memorandum.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

not to rest until the Council made a move'.[46]

In this period a characteristic of social reform in both official and unofficial forms, was that the notion of African-white 'dialogue' had become accepted as a distinct issue.[47] For instance, municipalities - variously prompted - appeared to be more solicitous of the opinions of 'representative' urban Africans. This was in part an outcome of the preceding period of militancy.[48] Native welfare associations in most of the main urban centres also appear to have been moving in the direction of greater liaison with Africans. From the limited records available, it appears that the PNWA was the most active association in this regard. The Association's membership increased; there was regular contact with the municipality (which in 1920 offered the Association control of the municipal eating house in Marabastad);[49] and by mid-1920 the principle of the Executive holding regular meetings with the 'Native Advisory Board' was established. Provision was also made for the possibility of 'other meetings with natives'.[50]

Neither the NNARA nor the JNWA was particularly prominent during 1920-1921, although members of the latter body were involved in the Bantu Men's Social Centre project and in giving night lectures under the auspices of the Eclectic Club.[51] Little is known of the operations of the 'Native Affairs Branch' of the Christian Social Service League in Pietermaritzburg (a kind of

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46. **The Star**, 26 March 1921.

47. The establishment of Location Advisory Boards in a number of urban centres during 1920-1921 is one indication of this trend.

48. This is still largely a point of conjecture at this stage and needs to be substantiated by a fairly systematic examination of the records of the larger municipalities. The Native Affairs Section of the Durban City Council (set up in the aftermath of World War I) does seem to provide an example of efforts to liaise with urban Africans (however imperfectly so in practice).

49. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Executive Meeting Minutes, March 1920.

50. **Ibid.**, 10 November 1920.

51. For some background detail on the Eclectic Club see W.M. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 160; and Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 13-14 and 18.

de facto native welfare society), but according to an early 1921 report by Loram, the League

> ... had studied and reported on such matters as native recreation, the Skebenga menace, native night schools, hostels for women, and was at present actively assisting the Pietermaritzburg corporation in the present housing scheme for natives.[52]

Early 1921 saw the extension of ABM plans to set up a social centre for urban Africans. After groundwork by a provisional committee consisting **inter alia** of Pim, Phillips and Walter Webber, and given financial backing by the Chamber of Mines, a society under the name of the Bantu Men's Social Centre (BMSC) was formed in February 1921 to collect further funds, and to generate publicity for the project and the question of 'native recreation' in general.[53] One of the implications of the project was that social reformism based on spatial control of urban Africans (that is, the upgrading or provision of new townships), was not sufficient. Some form of cultural control and transformation was also necessary. As the BMSC committee stated:

> The need for making some effort to improve the social conditions of large numbers of natives should need little amplification. Numbers of natives, especially the younger men are growing up under conditions which can only lead to swelling the criminal population unless some effort is made to raise their mental and social states.[54]

In addition to these developments on the Rand, there was a move by Loram towards developing more nationally organized forms of African welfare work. Given considerable mobility by virtue of his NAC commitments, Loram had come to see by late 1920 that one of his main tasks lay in the establishment of a series of welfare societies such as those in existence in some of the larger towns. These, he wrote to J.X. Merriman in November 1920, would assist both African betterment and white 'race education'.

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52. Address by C.T. Loram cited in **Daily Dispatch**, 21 January 1921.

53. **The Star**, 25 February 1921.

54. Ibid.

> I believe there is a great amount of energy available for social work at present unused among the Christian people of our larger towns. I should like to be allowed to organize a series of these societies with the possibility of an annual meeting under the presidency of the Minister [of Native Affairs]. The publicity thus obtained would do something towards raising a conscience on Native matters among the Europeans.[55]

In January 1921 he again wrote to Merriman, remarking that he had been trying to form welfare societies in Alice, East London, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Kimberley, Bloemfontein and Ladysmith. He emphasized

> ... the desirability of Advisory Boards of Natives to meet with the European committees. This has been done to induce thought and study from which I hope may result education and action. Regulation and legislation have their uses, but nothing permanent can be done without a change of heart ... I hope ... that the Associations may give a lead to public opinion.[56]

However, it was only in East London in January 1921, that a properly functioning 'native welfare' society was established. Whether Loram was directly responsible for the formation of the East London Native Welfare Association (ELNWA) is questionable. Certainly, as guest speaker at the inaugural meeting he spent a good deal of his time explaining the structure, etiquette and activities of existing 'native welfare' societies. Among the reasons for the formation of the ELNWA, Loram's influence aside, was the recent formation of a native advisory board for East London (with which it was hoped the proposed Association would liaise), greater white public awareness of the poor state of the location and urban political 'unrest'. Loram reaffirmed the 'seriousness of the native situation' and urged the Association 'to keep in closest touch' with native advisory councils. The 'main purpose of native welfare associations', he continued, 'was to study native problems and to attempt to educate public opinion on the right lines'.[57] By close study of these problems, reforms would 'invariably follow' - an echoing of the Fabian

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55. Merriman Papers, Loram to J.X. Merriman, 15 November 1920. Cited Legassick, 'C.T. Loram'.

56. Ibid., Loram to Merriman, 5 February 1921.

57. Daily Dispatch, 21 January 1921.

maxim of measurement and publicity.

On the eve of the Phelps Stokes commissioners arrival in South Africa there were - despite signs of continuing urban-based protest - a number of factors encouraging or facilitating accommodationist strategies by Africans: the growing number of white liberals and philanthropists interested in 'native welfare'; the elaboration of a neo-conservative discourse; the material weakness and insecurity of urban Africans; and minor concessions from the state and various local governments. The Eclectic and Gamma Sigma Clubs had provided the means for Africans and whites to develop personal links. However, these ventures and the BMSC project were only partial solutions, and further attempts during 1920 to develop a more substantive institutionalized contact with the TAC elite as a whole were met with 'coldness and suspicion'.[58] The BMSC project was caught up in this tension. Bridgman reported in late 1920 that opposition from a 'radical, extremist, native element' who took the line 'that to accept such a gift as this Social Centre would only result in more chains for the blacks'. He was relieved to find that 'the more sane liberal-minded class of natives prevailed'.[59] Nevertheless, there seems to have been a need for some form of external intervention to encourage the next step towards a wider 'inter-racial' movement.

The immediate process of the founding of the JJC is a good deal more complicated than accounts by Rheinallt Jones and other suggest. In the first place, Aggrey and Jesse Jones did not travel together to South Africa. Jones, accompanied by an American Board missionary, Mr Le Roy, arrived first (11 February 1921), and during the ensuing weeks (until 1 April) travelled exten-

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58. **Christian Express**, October 1920. See also ABM Papers, ABC: 15.4, Vol 40, F.Bridgman to Rev. Bell, 21 September 1920, and roneod letter from Bridgman, 23 December 1920.

59. ABM Papers, ABC 15.4, Vol 40, roneoed letter from Bridgman, 23 December 1920.

sively.[60] Aggrey arrived in South Africa on 19 March and remained until 16 June. His companion, Dr Hollenbeck, left on 20 April.[61] Whether Aggrey and Jones worked or acted in concert while on the Rand is not adequately borne out by the available evidence. Certainly, in the various public meetings in Johannesburg and Pretoria which prefigured the formal establishment of the JJC in May 1921, there is no indication that they shared a joint platform. What also does not emerge from Rheinallt Jones's account on the origins of the joint council movement, is the role of Loram in using Aggrey and Jones to argue for the conversion of native welfare bodies into organizations involving themselves more clearly with urban Africans. An editorial obituary for Loram (probably written by R.V. Selope Thema) remarks that

> ... It was he who took advantage of the presence in South Africa of the Phelps Stokes Commission ... to foster the spirit of mutual co-operation between white and black. He found in Dr Aggrey the apostle of this new conception of inter-racial relationships and did not hesitate to harness his services ... It is doubtful if Dr Aggrey would have succeeded in convincing some of the leaders that his gospel pointed out the way of salvation, if he were not backed by the energy, enthusiasm and the indomitable determination of Dr Loram.[62]

Jesse Jones appears to have been the first to publicly suggest that the Inter-Racial Committees of the American South provided an instructive example for South Africa. In an interview with a Johannesburg newspaper, he recommended the establishment of local committees which might have as their objectsives: the promotion of African hygiene, proper housing, recreation adapted to the 'simple nature of the natives', schools where they would be taught information adapted to their social status and conditions and proper work conditions - that is a fair wage and good conditions as regards sanitation.[63]

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60. T.J. Jones (et. al.), Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Educational Commission under the Auspices of the Phelps Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe (New York, 1922), 187.

61. Ibid.

62. Bantu World, 27 July 1940.

63. The Star, 23 March 1921.

It is not clear, however, whether he had in mind at this stage a modification of the institutional structure of the native welfare associations to include some form of African membership. Possibly he envisaged the formation of native welfare associations by whites as the first stage in the creation of local inter-racial committees. This is hinted at in his interview:

> Two things he felt from his American experience were the necessity for the development of organizations among whites such as the Native Welfare Association on the Rand so as to get Reef citizens to take an active interest in the natives and to take away the reproach that though living close to a huge native population, there was so little knowledge of its wants and feelings... Closely following on the necessity for such an organization was an organization for natives which would enable them to formulate their own ideas in constructive ways rather than to leave them to develop morbid thoughts that might result in hostility to whites.[64]

This interview appears to have been held shortly before a conference on 'native affairs' in Johannesburg. Jesse Jones, Le Roy and Loram were among those present and according to **The Star**, Jesse Jones elaborated on the points made in the interview. Loram in his talk praised the work of the ABM 'in trying to improve the social and moral condition of natives'. He had visited the Gamma Sigma Club (referred to as 'the Native Club') the night before and 'had been much impressed by the intelligence of the natives present'.[65]

Further meetings involving the second set of Phelps Stokes Commissioners, Aggrey and Hollenbeck, were held in the Transvaal during April. On 11 April 1921 Loram, Aggrey and Hollenbeck addressed a largely African audience at the Wesleyan Central Hall in Johannesburg. Loram, who presided over the meeting, remarked that there were 'many signs of improved race relations in Johannesburg'. He cited the efforts of 'Bridgman and his colleagues' to establish a 'Bantu Social Centre', the town council's scheme to provide a location at Newlands and 'the good work' in which the local Native Welfare Association was engaged. However, he declared that those connected with the

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64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

Native Welfare Association in Johannesburg and elsewhere, should be ready 'to take the next step, which would be the formation of a European and Native Committee who would sit at various intervals, and do all they could by way of improving the state of natives'.[66]

Aggrey and Hollenbeck - at the Johannesburg meeting and at a large meeting at the Marabastad location a week later - urged Africans to exhibit moderation in their protest.[67] But Hollenbeck, who appears only imperfectly to have understood the appeal to urban Africans of notions and social theories of a broadly Garveyist nature, was very much a sideshow. Aggrey went out of his way to confront these various forms of African petty bourgeois 'radicalism'. Loram wrote enthusiastically to Jesse Jones about Aggrey's performance at the Johannesburg meeting:

> There were about 150 whites and 400 blacks ... Aggrey was great. He screamed, he yelled, he argued. It was fine to see the effect on the people. The Europeans were delighted; the radical natives were mad at the idea of a black man praising the whites ... There was a running fire of black criticism which Aggrey would not let me check. 'All right my black brother, you just wait till after the meeting. I've got something to tell you about Marcus Garvey that I don't want these white folk to hear.' It was a great show, and we were all pleased and proud.[68]

Edgar Brookes, one of the PNWA executive members who arranged for the Phelps Stokes commissioners to talk at Marabastad, recalled years later Aggrey's talk:

> I remember presiding over a meeting addressed by him in the African village of Pretoria. The only hall available then ... was a small Indian-owned wood and iron cinema. I led in the platform party, which was numerous and included among others the Under-Secretary of the government Department of Native Affairs and a leading African so-called 'agitator', Makgatho. Every window was crammed with excited listeners who could not find seats, and I noted somewhat nervously that there was no back door to escape by if things went wrong ...
> He ... told a story of a Southern town where he had been asked to preach

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66. **The Star**, 12 April 1921.

67. W.M. Macartney, **Dr Aggrey: Ambassador for Africa** (London, 1949), 70-76.

68. Loram to Jones, 16 April 1921, cited in E.W. Smith, **Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White** (London, 1932), 171.

> a course of sermons to a Negro congregation. This town, he said revealingly (this was of course in 1921), was in a dreadful condition. The white people did not even try to pull Negroes off the side-walk: they just didn't notice them. 'So', said Aggrey, 'I preached my course of sermons on eggs.' The result was that the Negroes virtually monopolized the poultry industry in the area, and as a result when a white man met a Negro thereafter he would stop and say: 'Good morning, John. How are you? How's your wife? How are the children? Got any eggs?'[69]

As the above extract indicates, the routine rhetorical pronouncement - the need for more co-operation between whites and Africans - was given considerably more resonance by Aggrey. This was achieved partly by his emphasis on economic success stories. In other words, economic self-help and material prosperity went hand in hand. Aggrey also made an impact by virtue of his fine command of symbolic language: his comparison of 'inter-racial co-operation' with the harmonic interdependence of the black and white keys of a piano, is a metaphor still in use today.[70] Some months later after Aggrey had left South Africa, Henderson wrote to him that

> ... there is no doubt that a very great impetus was given to the idea of co-operation by your addresses all over the country.[71]

On the heels of the Marabastad meeting came a circular from Pim and Rheinallt Jones under the letterhead of the JNWA, inviting the recipients to an 'informal conference of a few whites and natives' to discuss the possibility of forming a Joint Advisory Council on native affairs in Johannesburg. The scheme was said to have the backing of distinguished Africans in Johannesburg and many persons who were interested in questions affecting the African community of South Africa.[72]

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69. E.H. Brookes, **A South African Pilgrimage** (Johannesburg, 1977) 29-30.

70. Transcripts of interview with Selby Msimang in possession of Sheila Meintjies; Matthews, **Freedom for My People**, 87.

71. Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, Rhodes University, MS 10, 710, J.H. Henderson to J. Aggrey, 12 March 1922.

72. JCR, Cj2.1.1, circular letter by H. Pim and J.D. Rheinallt Jones, 23 April 1921; Cj2.4, Minutes of Meeting convened to consider a suggestion for the formation of a Joint Advisory Council on Native Affairs, 27 April 1921.

The meeting on 27 April was attended by leading TAC members such as D.S. Letanka, J.D. Ngojo and R.V. Selope Thema. The Mine Clerks' Association was represented by A.W.G. Champion and P.A. Gajana. African representation also included teachers and ministers. White clerics present included Francis Hill, Wilfred Parker and Ray Phillips. Leonard Howe, Secretary of the YMCA, was also present. Among the contingent from the University of the Witwatersrand was Rheinallt Jones, Jan Hofmeyr and John McMurray (a Fabian involved in Workers' Educational Association work on the Rand).[73]

Aggrey delivered the keynote address, declaring the meeting 'the most important' he had attended on the continent. He then described conditions in America, particularly the 'fierce anti-Negro outbursts' and outlined a means of countering such behaviour:

> He had found out that, wherever a joint Committee on Race Relations was established, the conditions under which the Negroes lived were certainly improved. Since his arrival in South Africa he had found the native people very restless because of questions arising out of matters such as the pass laws, Native Land Act, wages, etc., and they complained that the white people always promised redress of grievances, but did nothing. He had counselled patience amongst the whites and to use this to the utmost extent. In the Southern States many men who had fought in the Civil War to preserve slavery had become the Negroes' best friends ... He urged the meeting to form a Joint Council where native grievances could be fully considered and action taken for the welfare of the native people.[74]

In the ensuing discussion it became evident that Africans present had become disillusioned in the prospects for socio-economic advancement and had lost faith in whites. Nevertheless they were still willing to take this opportunity for securing some form of co-operation between white and African.[75] A resolution to form a Joint Council was agreed upon and after considerable debate, it was agreed by majority vote that the Council membership should number 32 (16 of each 'race') subject to future adjustment if necessary. The

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73. **Ibid.**, Cj2.4, Minutes of Meeting to consider formation of a Joint Council, 27 April 1921.

74. **Ibid.**

75. **Ibid.**, the particularity of the feelings of Africans present is not conveyed by the Minutes.

initial representation of Africans (decided by a majority vote of those Africans present) was made up of 13 members nominated by various African organizations (the Transvaal African Congress, teachers' associations, the Transvaal Mine Clerks' Association, 'Native Pastors' and the Bantu Women's League). Three further members were to be elected by the Joint Council.[76]

The second meeting of the embryonic Joint Council was held on 18 May. J.D. Rheinallt Jones and Howard Pim, on behalf of the JNWA, selected and invited potential white members.[77] With Selope Thema unable to attend, no prominent TAC representatives were present.[78] The kinds of people present indicate the organizers' concern to include state and municipal officialdom in the joint council structure.[79] Insofar as one can detect a common understanding by officialdom regarding the function of the fledging JJC, it was that the body should provide the state and local government with access to 'reliable' and 'responsible' African opinion regarding the implementation of designated policy. It was not envisaged nor desired by the white hierarchy that the Joint Council should become a political pressure group: it was a means of gauging the extent of African protest as well as an auxiliary bureaucratic apparatus.

CONCLUSION

The immediate origins of the joint councils cannot simply be ascribed to the intervention of the Phelp Stokes Commissioners, Aggrey and Jesse Jones.

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76. **Ibid.**

77. **Ibid.**, Cj2.1.1, letters signed by Pim and Rheinallt Jones, 11 May 1921. The first JJC office bearers were elected at the next meeting. They were: Howard Pim (chairman), M.M. Maxeke (first vice-chairman), S. Solomon (second vice-chairman), and H. Hosken (secretary and treasurer). **Ibid.**, Cj2.4, Johannesburg Joint Council (JJC) Minutes, 1 June 1921. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, who was to have considerable influence on the development of the joint councils, was elected as assistant JJC secretary in 1922. **Ibid.**, 23 October 1922.

78. **Ibid.**, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 18 May 1921.

79. The officials present were S.M. Pritchard, 'Director of Native Labour'; Sir Robert Kotze, government mining engineer; and Major Bell, Native Sub-Commissioner. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 18 May 1921.

There was already a growing infra-structure of Native Welfare Societies which provided institutionalized momentum towards more formalized contact. And the African petty bourgeoisie, despite being generally suspicious of white overtures, nevertheless gave more systematic thought to possible accommodationist policies. In this context the Phelps Stokes commissioners, as outside experts in the field of 'race relations', were able to play the role of facilitators. Aggrey was especially effective; he was very much the salesman for the envisaged Joint Council. His message that Africans could achieve general advancement through solid economic endeavour and with friendly collaboration with whites, struck a responsive chord with many of the petty bourgeoisie. His emphasis on the interdependence of white and African social and economic activity also provided a rationale for gradualist policies and politics.

CHAPTER 3

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL, 1921-1924

As the JJC was something of a pilot project during the early 1920s, it will be analysed in some detail before a more general analysis of the other joint councils and native welfare societies is undertaken. This emphasis should not be taken as underplaying the work of societies in other centres. Such an exposition, however, will facilitate a more effective critique of Paul Rich's interpretation of the fortunes of the joint councils, an interpretation which hinges largely on a depiction of the JJC as an agency of co-option, with a limited and declining level of success during the 1920s.[1]

Overreliance on the notion of co-option can blur the ways in which Africans (individuals or interest groups) used or attempted to use the joint councils. More specifically, it is debatable whether the lack of enthusiasm for the JJC shown by the more activist wing of the TAC can be ascribed to the political conservatism of the Council.[2] Personal differences appear to have had some influence on the attendance of certain of the TAC elite. T. Mweli Skota,[3] for example, had an active dislike for Ray Phillips, a dislike engendered more by Phillips's self-righteousness (informed by an assertive Christian moralism) than by his conservative outlook.[4] Among other reasons for the stance adopted by TAC members was the lack of material inducement offered by the JJC, whether in the form of possibilities for capital accumulation or enhanced prestige.

Rich's argument that the radical TAC leadership formally disassociated

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1. Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 21-27.

2. **Ibid.**, 23-24.

3. See Appendix A.

4. Loram referred to Phillips as 'that manly muscular Christian'. Pim Papers, Br9, Loram to Bridgman, n.d.

themselves from the JJC after a short trial period,[5] does not have the most solid empirical support. Firstly, the **Abantu Batho** faction[6] were active members of the JJC for a number of years. C.S. Mabaso, despite differences of opinion, remained a member of the JJC until December 1924[7] and in late 1923 D. S. Letanka was still serving on the JJC Housing Sub-committee.[8] Secondly S.M. Makgatho,[9] the TAC leader, participated sporadically in joint council activities in the Transvaal, but as a member of the Pretoria Native Welfare Association[10] (for he lived in Pretoria), not the JJC. What does appear to have helped sour the relationship between the JJC and TAC was the former's refusal to join in a campaign to petition for the commutation of the death penalty for an African convicted on less-than-convincing evidence of therape of a white woman - popularized as the 'Berea Outrage'.[11] The JJC's decision on this matter had been published by a Sunday newspaper before the matter had been discussed and approved by the full council. C.S. Mabaso was particularly angry at the decision.[12]

The bulk of the JJC's African members appeared to have been drawn from a salaried and educated petty bourgeois stratum which had emerged in the urban areas by the 1920s.[13] The positions advanced at JJC meetings reflected the emergence of the idea of professionalism among this group, as well as internal

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5. Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 24.

6. This group was led by D.S. Letanka, C.S. Mabaso, L.J. Mvabaza and T.D. Mweli Skota.

7. Pim Papers, B14/44, Mabaso to Pim, 14 December 1924.

8. JCR, Cj2.1.3, unsigned letter to J.D. Rheinallt Jones, 27 August 1923.

9. See Appendix A for biographical notes on C.S. Mabaso, D.S. Letanka and S.M. Makgatho.

10. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Minute Book, 1919-1931.

11. Pim Papers, B14/24, Secretary of TAC to Pim, 13 December 1923.

12. JCR, JJC Minutes, 11 January 1924.

13. This group was comprised mainly of teachers, ministers, clerks, interpreters and traders. Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', 105-106.

developments in organizations representing professions such as teaching, the ministry and clerical workers. It has been argued that 'professionalism can be understood as a petit-bourgeois strategy for advancing and defending a relatively privileged position';[14] an argument well-illustrated by the objectives of the Native Mine Clerks' Association, which was to strengthen the position of African 'white collar' workers on the mines. Membership was therefore restricted to those who could 'read and write English'.[15] In their search for professional status and a commensurate wage, African members were attracted to the JJC by their perception of it as an intellectual association and attempted to use the JJC to give focus to their emerging notion of professionalism.

The JJC, especially in its formative years, did not possess a theoretically unified or coherent approach to what had traditionally been the 'native question'. Indeed, there was still uncertainty as to the problematic. Hence the appeal and prevalence of 'benign' and generalized segregationist notions and prescriptions: they were part compromise and part deferment of the 'problem'. The intellectual aims and 'content' of the JJC were not solely predicated on the study of a racially-demarcated 'social question'. They were informed by, and at times interacted with, other traditions and intellectual strains. Practices and ideas derived from an English social democratic tradition, and mediated particularly by Prof. W.M. Macmillan and Prof. J. Macmurray, constituted an important influence on the early JJC. Both men were active in the Workers' Educational Association movement on the Rand and in

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14. D. Finn, N. Grant and R. Johnson, 'Social Democracy and the Crisis' in B. Schwartz (ed), **On Ideology** (London, 1977), 167.

15. Memorandum from the Transvaal Native Mine Clerks' Association to the Mining Industry Board, 1922, in Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol 1, 320.

related extra-mural work for the University of the Witwatersrand.[16] Macmurray's departure for Balliol College late in 1922 seems to have retarded the development of a welfarist brand of liberalism within the Council.[17] There were suggestions of it in the JJC's first housing report which, although it affirmed urban segregation, tackled questions such as the responsibility of state and municipal authorities to subsidize transport for Africans living in locations some distance from the city.[18]

The JJC was not as thoroughgoing or self-conscious a cultural formation as the Bloomsbury set or the Fabian society.[19] It did not set out to provide a grand critique and prescription for social progress as did the Fabian elite. Because of its more diverse membership the discourse of the Council could not be situated on the level of abstruse theoretical inquiry, rather it attempted to deal with specific issues on a more practical level. However, individual members - singly and jointly - could and did engage in theoretical work which influenced the operations of the Council.[20]

Some of the leading white members, Rheinallt Jones, Alfred and Agnes Hoernle, were associated with the Bantu Studies programme at the University of the Witwatersrand, which constituted an attempt to move beyond the bounds of orthodox anthropology. In late 1921 W.M. Macmillan was beginning to extend his study of the poor whites, urban and rural, to an investigation 'of the

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16. See i.a. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 152-161, for an account of these 'social democratic' influences and activities.

17. This is indirectly suggested by Macmillan's statement that '...it was perhaps his departure that lessened the drive for socialist education', **Ibid.**, 159.

18. JCR, Cj2.4.4.5, JJC. Report of Housing Sub-Committee, n.d., c.1921, 8.

19. For a discussion on the Bloomsbury set and Fabian society as an example of cultural formation see Williams, **Culture**, 79-83.

20. Macmillan, for instance, was researching the relationship between the African question and the land question. See **My South African Years**, 181.

actual living conditions of the Coloured and African people'.[21] With the partial exception of Selope Thema, there was no real attempt to interrogate the concept of 'race relations' or to speculate at length on its deployment in the South African context.[22]

The JJC was an amalgam of interests and functions, even different kinds of organizations. Significant in this respect is Macmillan's observation that a high proportion of whites engaged in 'inter-racial' activities on the Rand during the 1920s and early 1930s, could be described as cautious social workers.[23] Certainly, one should be wary of categorizing the practices and pronouncements of the Council as various expressions of 'liberalism'. This would be to overlook possible qualitative differences between a tradition (admittedly attenuated) of critical inquiry and protest - invoking **inter alia** the classic liberal 'freedoms' - and the practice of welfare work.

It should be borne in mind that it was usual practice at JJC meetings to aim at achieving consensus before decisions were taken or resolutions passed. The joint council structure embodied a Western-imposed and -defined committee framework; doubts could be disarticulated or not voiced at all. Moreover, in Howard Pim the JJC had a distinctly interventionist chairman, who appears on occasions to have conducted Council business on his own initiative.[24]

The first annual report of the JJC, which covered events until October 1922, listed nine 'important matters' which had been before the Council.[25] These were housing, wages, rents, pass laws, poll tax, the Native Affairs Commission, the Mining Industry Board, the Native (Urban Areas) Bill and

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21. **Ibid.**, 161.

22. See e.g. R.V. Selope Thema, 'The Race Problem' in **The Guardian**, 1922, reprinted in Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol I, 212-214.

23. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 209.

24. See e.g. Pim Papers, B1 4, R Feetham to Pim, 6 April 1923.

25. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1922.

education. The second report, covering the next eighteen months, listed seventeen topics. The wage issue, however, was a significant omission.[26] It is possible that the Council did not want to be seen as a **de facto** trade union. Also, the Council, keen on extending its white support, was probably wary of antagonizing big capital such as the Chamber of Mines. The sensitivity of the Chamber on the score of African wages was considerable, especially after the 1922 uprising by white miners. In fact, P.A. Gajana, General Secretary of the Native Mine Clerks' Association, resigned from the JJC in October 1922, after the Chamber of Mines had withdrawn recognition of his Association - a self-consciously moderate body.[27] He rejoined in 1923[28] and according to Council records was, together with other Mine Clerks representatives, among the most active participants in Council proceedings. However, for whatever reason, the Association did not press the wage issue.

At the first official meeting of the JJC it was agreed upon that sub-committees be appointed to investigate the respective subjects of housing, pass laws, education and wages.[29] Of these four areas of concern, only housing (which was later linked with urban areas legislation) was pursued consistently and with vigour during the early years.[30] However, it was the wage issue which had to be confronted by the incipient JJC if it was to attract and sustain meaningful African support. This it failed to do. In the early years of the JJC's existence, the wage issue was obfuscated and de-emphasized, partly by means of procedural mechanisms.

The institutional procedure of appointing JJC sub-committees was

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26. **Ibid.**, JJC Annual Report, 1923.

27. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Annual General Meeting Minutes, 23 October 1922.

28. **Ibid.**, JJC Minutes, 17 August 1923. The attendance list indicates P.A. Gajana as a member of the Council.

29. **Ibid.**, 18 May 1921.

30. This is borne out by an examination of the JJC minutes for this period.

double-edged. Though such committees could provide useful reports and other material, they could also become separate arenas for debate in which the need for rapid preparation of reports and recommendations was temporarily forgotten. Questions arising during general Joint Council meetings were sometimes referred back to the relevant Sub-committee which usually led to further delays. For example, after a month's operation the Wages Sub-committee, according to its convener C.S. Mabaso, 'had not arrived at definite conclusions and so could not present a report'.[31] To what extent this represented a reluctance by white members to deal directly with a potentially controversial subject is a moot point.

Certainly African members were unable to present a unified front on the wage issue. This cannot be reduced to a conservative-militant dichotomy. An answer must be partly sought in the play of interest groups. For instance, mine clerks and teachers tended to remain within the boundaries of the bodies they represented on the Council. Sectional interests were also revealed in the attempts of certain African members to play down the wages question. Thus, at the first formal JJC discussion of African wages, the Rev. Maxeke

> ... stated that he could not accept some of the statements of living expenses put forward by the speakers and moved that the discussion be adjourned for two weeks to enable the Native Members to come to some agreement over the facts to be presented to the Council.[32]

The increased involvement of Rev. Maxeke and his wife, Charlotte, with state officialdom since their move to the Rand, may well have conditioned their choice of tactics.[33]

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31. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 22 June 1921.

32. **Ibid.**, 1 June 1921.

33. On moving to Johannesburg Charlotte Maxeke worked as a government-appointed chaplain to four women's prisons. Rich argues that Mrs Maxeke opposed Champion's attempt to have the wages issue discussed in June 1921 and was clearly anxious to maintain the support of prominent white liberals on the Council such as Ray Phillips and Howard Pim. (Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 24.) However, he fails to elaborate on this point and gives no source reference.

Unfortunately, there appears to be no record of the deliberations of the Wages Sub-committee. Virtually all that exists is its first - and only - report, which was published in August 1921.[34] The report was a circumspect document and took no heed of signs of disquiet regarding the acute land hunger in the reserves. It still held to the 1900s orthodoxy that the reserves were the 'natural habitat' and means of social security of Africans. Issues such as the migrant labour system, inadequate wages and the colour bar were discussed, but the report offered little in the way of concrete advice or possible tactics to educated Africans seeking to improve their positions. The overall tenor of the report was euphemistic as can be seen by the recommendation that 'efforts ... be made to improve [African] wages by communicating with employers'.[35] The report contained no reference to the use of trade union methods to settle wage claims. There was merely a reiteration of a recommendation made by the 1914 Economic Commission that state-appointed 'protectors of natives ... should again be appointed to act for natives in their industrial disputes, and to assist them when they come before the Courts'.[36]

Some months later the Joint Council gave evidence to the Mining Industry Board[37] and adopted a slightly different and more sophisticated approach.[38] The Council found itself in general agreement with the findings of the Low Grades Mines Commission, including the point that

> ... the grievance of the educated native is mainly with the 'Colour Bar' but the raw native - who constitutes the great bulk of the labour force - is not concerned over this, but desires an increase in the amount of wages he is able to earn.[39]

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34. JCR, Cj2.4.4.16, JJC Report of Wages Sub-Committee, n.d., c.1921.

35. Ibid., 4

36. Ibid., 6.

37. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1922, 3.

38. JCR, Cj2.6, Mining Industry Board. Memorandum by Joint Council of Europeans and Natives.

39. Ibid., 1 (a), point 10 (f).

The JJC emphasized the very real possibility of a strike for higher wages and the serious consequences of such action. It also indicated that it was the educated Africans who felt the brunt of the colour bar and that this could have grave repercussion as 'their feelings towards the European population and the Government of South Africa will certainly have great influence in deciding the future attitudes of the huge untrained and uneducated mass of native population'.[40]

Perhaps the most important aspect of the memorandum is its emphasis on the need to reduce costs in the mining industry. It pointed out that a number of Africans and whites throughout the Union were dependent on the Transvaal gold mining industry. These people derived their living not from the profit made, but from the mines working expenditure therefore 'South Africa's primary interest in the gold industry is to keep as many mines working as possible'.[41]

Nowhere in the memorandum was there any criticism of working conditions for African mineworkers. Nor was there any mention of pensions and other forms of social insurance. In relation to African and white mineworkers (and workers in general) there was a **laissez faire** rather than a social welfarist bias:

> If economic conditions operate freely there may be hardship in individual cases, but development freed from all unnecessary restrictions must lead in the long run to far less suffering, and to much more goodwill and efficiency than mistaken attempts to palliate conditions of many essentials of which we are all of us ignorant.[42]

The early JJC reports tended to take the pronouncements of the state, and to a lesser degree, the local state, at face value. The Education and Pass Laws Sub-committees went a step further in this regard and made their pronouncements contingent on the reformulation of state policy. The first Annual

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40. Ibid., 9-9.

41. Ibid., 12.

42. Ibid.

Report was able to describe the activities of the Pass Laws Sub-committee in a single sentence:

> ... after several meetings had been held, the sub-committee decided to leave the matter in abeyance until the promised report on the pass-laws was issued by the Native Affairs Commission.[44]

The Education Sub-committee was chaired by Rheinallt Jones and had Loram as one of its members, which inhibited its capacity for independent action. While representations were made to the Native Affairs Commission, these dealt with technical points regarding teaching conditions and teachers' salaries. It failed to address itself to other audiences. The Sub-committee was unwilling or unable to present an alternative to Loram's anti-urban brand of 'vocational' education and supported the establishment of 'a differentiated syllabus in both the primary schools and training institutes'.[45] The report was withdrawn after criticism by the full Council that it had failed to detail 'the general educational disabilities which Transvaal Natives suffer'.[46] However, the Council itself remained relatively quiescent on this score during the early 1920s. Although Rheinallt Jones as JJC secretary gave evidence in 1923 to a Transvaal Provincial Administration educational commission, the JJC did not commit itself to any specific public stance on education during this period. The Council remarked in April 1924 that

> In view of the possible developments foreshadowed in the [Native] Commission's report for 1921, the Joint Council has awaited the possible introduction of a Native Taxation Bill before pressing for reforms so urgently needed in Native education.[47]

Housing and the twin issue of Urban Areas legislation easily drew the most attention in the formative years. The first Housing Sub-committee,

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44. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1922, 2.

45. JCR, Cj2.4.4.1, JJC Education Sub-Committee Minutes, 11 August 1921.

46. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1922, 4.

47. Ibid., JJC Annual Report, 1923, 2.

chaired by Macmurray during 1921-1922,[48] was probably the most productive of the early Sub-committees. Its report, a study of the housing situation in Johannesburg, was a particularly thorough piece of work for a voluntary association.[49] Though in essence an argument for the refinement of urban segregation, it embodied a more benign vision than the wages report. The 'heart of the housing problem', it was suggested, lay in providing accommodation for the large and increasing number of Africans who had adopted town life permanently. The Sub-committee insisted that any scheme providing African houses should ensure that the tenant had 'adequate' security of tenure. A national planning policy with regard to African housing was urged in order to facilitate co-operation between central and local authorities.[50]

The report attempted to devise a means of influencing the making of official policies on African housing. A sub-section headed 'Information and Publicity' - a rephrasing perhaps of the Fabian maxim of 'measurement and publicity' - stressed that housing reforms would not be forthcoming if the attitude of the white public remained one of indifference and, in some cases, hostility. It was argued that whites had to be made aware of the conditions in African urban areas in order to change their attitude on this matter. Parties working in the field of African housing were urged to pool their information and other resources and to undertake a 'systematic and prolonged attempt ... to give full publicity to all work done and information collated'.[51] The committee never considered the drafting of a programme of 'permeation' of officialdom. They relied largely on 'factual research' and devoted little attention to the possibilities of 'wire pulling' in the fashion

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48. JCR, Cj2.1.1, J. Macmurray to J.D. Rheinallt Jones, 1 June 1921; and H. Hoskens to Macmurray, 18 July 1921.

49. JCR, Cj2.4.4.5, JJC Report of Housing Sub-Committee, n.d., c.1921.

50. Ibid., 9-10.

51. Ibid., 10.

of the Webbs.[52] The Housing Sub-Committee was virtually a standing body during the 1920s. After its first report it busied itself with attempts to secure improvements to existing and planned African housing projects on the Rand. During 1923-1924 analysing and monitoring the Urban Areas legislation became a priority.

In late 1922 and early 1923 an 'exhaustive memorandum' was prepared on the Urban Areas Bill.[53] The proposed amendments included the provision of rights of joint stock companies with African shareholders; more legal protection for Africans under threat of removals; the upgrading of Native Advisory Boards; the 'ejection of idle natives'; African trading rights in the townships and opposition to municipal beer brewing because 'it will not have the sanction of a united public behind it'.[54] Pim, the JJC chairman, and Selby Msimang were summoned to Cape Town to give evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Bill.[55] Amendments proposed by the JJC influenced the structure of the Act.[56] The modifications centred around creating some security of tenure in the form of a more stable lease, and providing the means for the establishment of residential space for the African elite outside the existing locations.[57]

The withdrawal of the African freehold ownership clauses in the Bill was a 'serious blow'. However, the JJC adopted a soft line in criticizing the government and discouraged more activist forms of protest. Rather, the Coun-

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52. For a discussion on the notion of 'permeation' see G. Himmelfarb, 'The Intellectual in Politics: The case of the Webbs', **Journal of Contemporary History**, VI, 3, 1971 and R.C.K. Ensor, 'Permeation' in M. Cole (ed), **The Webbs and Their Work** (Sussex, 1974), 11.

53. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1923, 1.

54. **Ibid.**, JJC Annual Report, 1922, 3-4.

55. **Ibid.**, JJC Annual Report, 1923, 1.

56. Pim Papers, Fa9.7, Rough Notes on the History of the JJC by Pim, n.d., c.1925.

57. JCR, JJC Secretary to Secretary of NAC, 8 September 1923; Acting Secretary of NAC to JJC Secretary, 22 September 1923.

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> ... unanimously agreed to recognize the hopelessness of any further agitation and decided to press the Government to draft a standard lease which the Municipalities could adapt and which should be 'as good as ownership'.[58]

This unanimity was not achieved without a struggle. When the altered Bill emerged from the Select Committee, Selby Msimang was keen to organize a mass protest march in Pretoria, but was persuaded to drop the idea.[59] A possible factor influencing Msimang's decision was his belief that the JJC could be of real assistance in explaining and easing the application of the Urban Areas legislation. He had been impressed with the work of white joint councillors regarding the Urban Areas Bill:

> The Urban Areas Bill ... gave these whites an opportunity for showing their sympathy and active co-operation with us ... They took trouble to explain the provisions of the Bill and went through it clause by clause. When the government convened the conference of African leaders to discuss the Bill, ... I was deputed (sic) to go; I was invited by the government to attend this conference. The notes we had made throughout our discussions in the Joint Council assisted us greatly. I was able to put across the various ideas that came across in our discussions in the Joint Council.[60]

Two Sub-committees were set up in mid-1924 and dealt collectively with the implementation of the urban areas legislation. One Sub-committee, chaired by Macmillan, analysed and suggested improvements to the 'Model Regulations' published by the Native Affairs Department (NAD) for the guidance of municipalities. It also examined the response of the municipalities to these regulations. The JJC's standpoint was that the Model Regulations 'would in some respects, e.g. public health etc. make a great advance on present conditions'.[61] The Council urged that the NAD authorize joint councils 'or other unofficial

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58. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1923.

59. H.S. Msimang, Biography, 4, transcripts of interviews in possession of Ms Sheila Meintjies.

60. **Ibid.**, The same point is made in a private interview by the writer with Selby Msimang on 26 August 1978.

61. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 1 August 1924.

bodies' to get 'in touch with Native opinion ... before action is taken'.[62]

A refurbished Housing Sub-committee concerned itself with the assessment and monitoring of the housing and town-planning policy of the Johannesburg municipality. Its concerns were to persuade the municipality to provide single rooms and adequate cooking facilities in municipal barracks for educated workers; to turn Johannesburg locations into 'native villages' (which implied greater security of tenure for the inhabitants); to develop a satisfactory leasehold system for these areas; to 'appeal for more consultation with Natives'; to press the City Council to form a Native Affairs department and to grant African trading rights.[63]

A JJC deputation interviewed the City Council on the above points. The results were limited. The process of negotiating with or extracting concessions from bureaucratic apparatuses such as the NAD or municipalities, was normally protracted and seldom if ever an unqualified success. The City Council agreed to structural changes in future barracks to cater for 'educated natives'. Of the townships, only the North Eastern Township and part of Klipspruit would be turned into native villages. The Council was non-committal on the question of leases and opposed to the granting of African trading rights. However, they 'seemed to be sympathetic' to the plea for more consultation with Johannesburg Africans.[64]

In a related field to the housing issue, the JJC displayed a somewhat more crusading spirit in its attempts to protect Africans against 'exorbitant rents and unjust treatment by landlords'.[65] The JJC was able to achieve tangible results here, albeit on a small scale. As the local Rent Board had limit-

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62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., 24 June 1924 and 18 October 1924.

64. Ibid., 18 October 1924.

65. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1923, 5.

ed powers, the Board agreed to submit cases with which it was unable to deal to the JJC for consideration. The usual course of action was a letter from the JJC secretary to the landlord.[66] Occasionally the secretary conducted an interview with the landlord. In extreme cases, legal action was taken, usually with successful results.[67] Prominent in these actions in his professional capacity as an advocate, was H. Hosken, the JJC secretary during 1923.

There was a general increase in JJC activity during 1923-1924, both on a local and national scale, though it was not without a cessation or dilution of effort in certain areas.[68] On the local front, a number of distinct social welfare concerns emerged. Representations were made to the authorities for the establishment of venereal clinics. The Council agitated for the formation of a 'Native and Coloured Infants department' in the Children's Hospital and supported the Children's Aid Society in their attempts to found a 'Native and Coloured Orphanage and Aged Home'.[69] A further campaign, during 1924 and after, was for a tramways service for Africans commuting to and from the city centre. 'Special tram services' were soon instituted, but did not fully measure up to expectation and the issue surfaced from time to time during the later 1920s.[70]

By the end of 1922 the JJC had begun to shift from a specific concern with defusing political tempers on the Rand and searching for modes of co-operation and compromise, to more prescriptive - though less focussed - interventions on a wider front. The political aspirations of Africans were accorded more formal attention but the suggested reforms were not substantive; for the

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66. See JCR, Cj2.1.1; Cj2.1.2; Cj2.1.3; and Cj2.1.4 for examples of correspondence in this regard.

67. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1922, 2.

68. For example on the questions of wages and passes.

69. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 18 October 1924. See also Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1924-1925.

70. Ibid., Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 18 October 1924.

most part they were an attempt to secure a more enlightened and systematic application of the structure of consultation provided by the 1920 Native Affairs Act and the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act. Anticipating that the annual government-organized conference for Africans was due to become a 'standing organization' (a 'Native General Council' in effect), the JJC proposed a more democratic and 'defined method of representation' for the body.[71] It was also urged that Native Councils and Advisory Boards be set up without delay throughout the country. The land question, more specifically the issue of where Africans could buy land outside the 1913 Land Act boundaries, was a common item on the JJC agenda from 1923 onwards.[72] The Council executive attempted to obtain formal clarification on the matter from the NAD,[73] but no clear answer had been received when the PACT government took office in 1924, ushering in a reshaping of Native policy.

An issue with both a local and national side was the treatment of Africans in the lower or magistrates' courts. A Sub-committee was eventually appointed in mid-1924 and a report prepared. Among its recommendations were that fines be more proportional to African earnings and that competent translators be appointed. The Sub-committee seems to have hedged on investigating 'allegations of the practice of second degree questioning in eliciting statements from prisoners'.[74]

While a variety of subjects received attention in JJC meetings and many resolutions passed, a number of these matters were not taken to their final solution, especially when the state was the other party involved. For in-

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71. The JJC appears to have been officially informed that the government-organized annual 'Native Conference' would become a permanent institution: 'There can be no gainsaying the value of this Conference, and it is gratifying to know that it is to become a standing organization'. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1923.

72. See i.a. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 7 September 1923.

73. Ibid., 24 June 1924.

74. Ibid., reported statement of the Bishop of Johannesburg, 1 August 1924.

stance in March 1924 Ray Phillips registered a complaint regarding the harmful NAD policy of transferring its staff on the Rand at frequent intervals. The chairman promised to take the matter up. At the next Council meeting, however, it was indicated that no further action would be taken in this matter.[75] The reluctance of the JJC to criticize government is understandable; the JJC worked on the principle of consensus and its early members included municipal and government officials.[76] Their presence would have made assertive standpoints on practices and policies of officialdom difficult to achieve.

With increased membership and activity during 1923-1924, it became evident that the work-load could not be carried out on a purely voluntary basis. In March 1924 Rheinallt Jones declared himself unable to cope with details of secretarial work, [77] and F.S. Livie Noble, a psychologist working at the BMSC, was subsequently hired on a part-time basis and given the rank of Assistant Secretary.[78]

While there was a distinct increase in both African and white members of the JJC at this time, some African members had begun to voice their doubts openly during 1924, if not before, over the Council's efforts to establish and consolidate its constituency among Africans on the Reef. The temporary resignation of C.S. Mabaso in mid-1924[79] forced a rethink by the Council on African membership. It was agreed that membership 'should be composed as far as possible of representative natives and representative native thought'. A committee, consisting of Phillips, Mabaso, Msimang and Thema, was appointed to examine the various African organizations and nominate 'representative men'. However,

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75. **Ibid.**, 31 March 1924 and 16 May 1924.

76. See attendance lists of **Ibid.**, 22 August 1924.

77. **Ibid.**, JJC Annual General Meeting Minutes, 31 March 1924.

78. **Ibid.**, JJC Executive Committee Minutes, 16 May 1924.

79. **Ibid.**, 8 August 1924.

discussion was deferred on Msimang's proposal that the activities and functions of the JJC be popularized through periodic announcements in the main African languages used on the Reef.[80] There is no record of Msimang's proposal having been implemented. The following year the JJC dealt obliquely with the question of extending its African constituency by employing Selope Thema to do an informal social needs analysis in various Reef townships to advise on the establishment of 'social and other agencies for the benefit of the native people'.[81]

The JJC hierarchy (and Loram) appears to have viewed the consolidation of white support[82] - especially those in positions of influence - as the priority in expansion on a local and national scale. There was more interest in gathering support on the Council's right political flank rather than its left. For instance, the executive refused the application of Sydney Bunting, a leading though maverick CPSA member, to join the JJC.[83] By contrast, among the new white members accepted in the succeeding months were two Dutch Reformed Church clergymen, Revs. D. Theron and Fouche, and two compound managers.[84]

For some JJC supporters and members it seemed as if the Council was becoming too politicized. Richard Feetham, an MP who made representations on behalf of the JJC in parliament, resigned in September 1923 citing as one of his reasons the Council's pre-occupation with questions of a 'political or semi-political nature'.[85]

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80. **Ibid.**

81. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1924-1925.

82. Details on this issue can be found in chapter 8.

83. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 7 September 1923.

84. **Ibid.**, 18 October 1924.

85. JCR, Cj2.1.3. R. Feetham to Rheinallt Jones, 9 September 1923.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the nature and functions of the early JJC, providing a reference point in the analysis of the joint councils in general. While the JJC expanded its African membership, it was unable to secure the support of the activist element of the TAC. However, the relationship between the TAC and JJC was more complex than Paul Rich suggests and it is questionable whether TAC objections were purely a response to the political conservatism of the Council. It is also clear that the pre-eminence of the TAC in African protest politics at the time was not adequately acknowledged by the JJC. This can be seen, for instance, in the rather abrupt dismissal of the Congress's request for joint action on the 'Berea Outrage' incident.

The JJC operated on the principle of consensus which made it difficult for the Council to undertake too assertive a line. Pim's interventionist chairmanship was also a factor here. There is evidence to suggest that he played a role in keeping the Council on a 'respectable' tack. Moreover, the policy of refusing membership to radical socialists, and rather taking white officials and other individuals of a conservative philanthropic bent as members undoubtedly reinforced this tendency. Nevertheless, there were signs that some white members felt that the Council was becoming too political a body.

Certainly, during 1921-1924 the JJC became more involved in issues of a national and broadly political nature, especially actual or pending legislative measures, but at the same time its energies were somewhat diffused. On potentially controversial matters such as wages, the impression is gained that procedural mechanisms were subtly used to stall or restrict discussion and action. In general, the work undertaken by the Council increased considerably and occasioned the inspanning of an additional secretary to help out with a mounting administrative burden.

The JJC did not achieve the results it anticipated, especially on broad-

er issues, but demonstrated a certain sincerity of purpose to most of its African members. It also provided a useful set of resources to its African members on an individual and collective basis. For instance, on a matter such as the Urban Areas Bill the Council showed itself capable of providing a thorough yet accessible critique of a major piece of legislation, and, given the right circumstances, of undertaking a degree of salvage work in regard to discriminatory legislation.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATIONWIDE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JOINT COUNCILS, 1921-1924

'Another important beginning of inter-racial co-operation', wrote Phelps Stokes commissioner Thomas Jesse Jones some months after his second trip to South Africa in 1924, 'is found in the Native Welfare Associations of Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Grahamstown, Cape Town, Umtata and East London.'[1] Evidence has yet to be found regarding the dates and details of the inception of the Bloemfontein and Umtata bodies. The Grahamstown Association was formed in October 1921.[2] The PNWA decided to set up a separate joint council section in January 1922,[3] and the almost moribund Natal Native Affairs Reform Association was reconstituted as the Durban Joint Council in April 1922.[4] According to Rheinallt Jones, eleven native welfare societies or joint councils attended the DRC-sponsored European-Bantu conference in September 1923.[5] The identities of the participant societies are not revealed in the conference proceedings, nor do we know whether these were all fully operative bodies. The Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Association was founded in August of the following year.[6]

The JJC did not immediately become the norm for institutionalized ventures by whites in the realm of native welfare. For example, though the Gra-

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1. Jones, Education in Africa, 190.

2. Grahamstown Joint Council Records (GJCR), Rhodes University, Cory Library, Grahamstown Native Welfare Association (GNWA), Minute Book, Public Meeting October 1921. A copy of the GNWA records can be found in the Department of Historical Papers, Wits.

3. JCR, Cp9.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1921-1922.

4. JCR, Cd3.2, Report of the Durban Joint Council (DJC) of Europeans and Natives from its foundation to 3 November 1925.

5. JCR, Ac3.3.1, Conference on Native Affairs, Johannesburg, 1924, Introductory Address by Rheinallt Jones.

6. JCR, Cp5.4.1, General Meeting of Port Elizabeth and District Native Welfare Society Minutes, 20 November 1924. Refers to the first meeting of the Society on 21 August 1924.

hamstown Association had as an objective the improvement of African-white relationships, it was explicitly modelled on the PNWA.[7] In other centres too, the softer option of a 'native welfare' rather than joint council format was usually taken.

During 1923, if not before, there were calls by various native welfare societies for the formation of some kind of overarching body. For example, PNWA delegates to the DRC conference were briefed 'to do all in their power to facilitate the formation of a General Native Association for the Union'.[8] The JJC had apparently decided on a conference of joint councils and native welfare societies to discuss this and other matters, but at a later stage this proposal was abandoned and Rheinallt Jones became the Secretary of that Conference.[9]

The deferment of a meeting of joint councils and native welfare societies was not unpremeditated. In the first place, the overture to the DRC seems to have come from Loram and Rheinallt Jones. By early 1923 Loram had established a working relationship with the DRC and discussed with Rheinallt Jones the possibility of some form of alliance with the DRC.

> I enclose a note which I have sent to the various Welfare Societies and I hope you may be able to get in touch with them and work up your plan for a joint conference. I am in treaty with the Dutch Church on the matter.[10]

Evidence is largely circumstantial, but it is likely that Loram persuaded Rheinallt Jones that the formation of a federal organization of native welfare societies should wait until an alliance had been forged with the DRC. Loram remarked to Rheinallt Jones in May 1923:

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7. GJCR, GNWA Public Meeting Minutes, October 1921.

8. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 19 September 1923.

9. JCR, Ac3.3.1, Conference on Native Affairs, 1924, Introductory Address by Rheinallt Jones.

10. JCR, Cj2.1.3, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 1 April 1923.

> I have written to you about the [DRC] National Conference. We must work in with our Dutch friends, if possible. I will let you know if there is any result.[11]

During a joint council promotional tour in 1923, Rheinallt Jones seems to have used the possibility of a joint national conference on native welfare as a form of inducement for incipient native welfare groups. He wrote to DRC cleric Rev. L. Hofmeyr that

> On [Loram's] suggestion I discussed [the proposed conference] and kindred matters with the Native Welfare Societies in the following towns I recently visited - Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley. In some of these places the Societies are being reorganized, but in every case it was felt that a National Conference was really urgent in order to crystalise opinion upon the various matters which are pressing for attention at the present time.[12]

At the DRC conference representatives of native welfare societies and joint councils met and formed a small committee consisting of Pim, Brookes and Rheinallt Jones (who acted as convener) to organize a 'conference of the societies' in 1924, when discussions could be held on matters of mutual interest and steps taken to bind together the societies engaged in native welfare.[13] Rheinallt Jones, however, left it till early June 1924 before provisionally calling such a conference for late July.[14] The administration of the Urban Areas Act and the Model Regulations for Locations and Advisory Boards were 'the most urgent matters' on the agenda.[15] Objections from the JJC and perhaps other societies led to a postponement of the date till September. Brookes took Rheinallt Jones to task on this issue:

> Whilst fully appreciating the various arguments for delay, I feel that I ought to point out (1) that by September it will be too late to make representations regarding the Model Urban Areas Regulations (2) that these Regulations are the most practically important legislation affect-

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11. **Ibid.**, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 16 May 1923.

12. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Rev. L. Hofmeyr, 28 May 1923.

13. JCR, Ac3.1.1, Conference on Native Affairs, 1924, introductory address by Rheinallt Jones.

14. JCR, Ac6.3, Circular letter from Rheinallt Jones, 2 June 1924.

15. Ibid.

ing Natives during 1924.
In the circumstances I hope that even now it may be possible to reconsider the postponement of the Conference, which suggests itself to me as a confession of impotence on the part of the General Organization of Welfare Associations.[16]

Rheinallt Jones was non-committal in his correspondence regarding his plans for the development of joint councils during the early 1920s. He drafted a constitution for a federation of native welfare societies and joint councils in 1923,[17] but appears to have been persuaded by Loram that the creation of a federal body should wait until after an alliance with the DRC had been forged. Loram particularly seems to have felt that the DRC churches held the key to the future development of voluntary inter-racial philanthropy. The DRC had been turning its attention to this subject since the early 1920s[18] and, as Loram no doubt realized, was in a position to influence the refinement and means of application of Hertzog's segregationist schemes should the National Party gain parliamentary political power.

Some caution is needed in assessing the individual contributions of Rheinallt Jones and Loram to the growth of joint councils and native welfare societies. While there is abundant testimony to their unflagging energy, ambitions and force of character, their contributions cannot be seen apart from their access to a variety of social resources and networks. Loram's position as a kind of roving 'native affairs' expert - and a civil servant - gave him the requisite authority to persuade philanthropic whites to undertake formal native welfare ventures. In Rheinallt Jones's case, his wife Edith had similar, and thus reinforcing, philanthropic interests and commitments.[19] Contacts through his editorship of the **South African Quarterly** and his associa-

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16. JCR, Cj2.4.1, Brookes to Rheinallt Jones, 6 June 1924.

17. MSS Brit Emp, APSP, S22 G194, Rheinallt Jones to J.H. Harris, 25 January 1923.

18. See e.g. JCR, Cj2.1.3, G.J. Meiring to Rheinallt Jones, July 1923; Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 1 April 1923.

19. The J.D. Rheinallt Jones Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits. D1, Obituary for Edith Rheinallt Jones, 20 September 1946.

tion with the academic field of Bantu Studies were also important factors. Nor should one overlook the unobtrusive work and support of Howard Pim. Pim's personal contacts with 'friends of natives' - built up since the 1900s - his Quaker affiliations and his access to financial and high social circles (partly as a result of his partnership of a prosperous accountancy firm) were resources which could be and were invoked from time to time to promote the organizational development of the joint councils and welfare societies.[20]

The move towards a nationwide institutionalization of native welfare should also be seen as part of a coalescing of philanthropic interests. For example, civic concern[21] with the 'problems' of the living conditions of urban Africans was heightened by impending urban areas legislation. Also important was the growing awareness among certain churches and missions that a more socially-relevant Christianity had to be offered to Africans, especially in the towns and cities.[22] Media coverage of the activities of the JJC and operative native welfare societies, especially in periodicals such as the **Christian Express**,[23] helped present a picture of an emergent movement in various urban centres concerned with improving 'race relations', and provided a point of reference for certain philanthropically-minded whites in centres without a welfare society or joint council.

Apart from the JJC, only the Durban Joint Council (DJC) could claim to have a marked 'inter-racial' component. However, during 1922-1924 the various native welfare associations were moving towards formal co-operation with Africans. After his 1921 tour of South Africa, Jesse Jones reported that an

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20. See Appendix A; and Human Sciences Research Council, **Dictionary of South African Biography** (Cape Town, 1976), 621-622.

21. Mayors and city councillors were often members of these early societies.

22. See e.g. D. Gaitskell, '"Wailing for Purity": Prayer Unions, African Mothers and Adolescent Daughters, 1912-1940' in Marks and Rathbone, **Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa**.

23. The **Christian Express** became known as **The South African Outlook** after 1922.

important difference between the American and South African inter-racial committees was the extent to which black people participated in the movement. He later qualified this by noting that 'the co-operation of the natives has been sought and obtained and all but one of the [native welfare] societies have native committees associated with them'.[24]

A lack of records for some of these early societies makes it difficult to comment adequately on Jones's remarks and a few examples must suffice. In 1922 the PNWA decided to seek the co-operation of Africans on a more regular basis and therefore established a Joint Council of Europeans and Natives (PJC) on the lines of the JJC. In the PNWA's Annual Report of 1922 the Executive Committee declared themselves to be well-pleased with the efforts of its Joint Council:

> ... the assistance so ably and assiduously given by the Native members has greatly benefitted the work of the Association and more than justified their co-option.[25]

The Pietermaritzburg Native Welfare Association also formed a small joint council section when it reconstituted itself in 1923.[26] While the Port Elizabeth Native Welfare body went a step further by forming a fully integrated inter-racial Native Welfare Society in 1924, it was a joint council in everything but name.[27] A different form of inter-racial co-operation was undertaken by the Grahamstown Association. This society had a separate 'Native Branch' from which it received occasional deputations.[28] However, the Grahamstown organization was moribund for most of the decade and only began holding

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24. Jones, **Education in Africa**, 170.

25. JCR, Cp9.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1921-1922.

26. JCR, Cj2.1.3, W.N. Roseveare to Rheinallt Jones, 11 September 1923.

27. JCR, Cp5.4, Port Elizabeth and District Native Welfare Society Minutes, 20 November 1924.

28. GJCR, GNWA Minutes, 17 February 1922.

regular meetings in the 1930s.[29]

A feature of the Johannesburg and Durban councils was the way in which their 'social service' activities meshed with ABM influenced ventures on the Rand and in the Durban area. Bridgman and Phillips were both active and influential members of the JJC. The projects under Phillips's supervision were expanded and consolidated during the early 1920s. The Gamma Sigma Club, he reported in 1924, was 'still growing'[30] and a branch club had been formed on the East Rand.[31] The 'film business' too, continued to grow. And, in conjunction with some members of the JJC - Pim in particular - funds were raised and land was obtained in Doornfontein for the erection of the BMSC. The Centre was opened in October 1924 and became the venue for JJC meetings. As Tim Couzens argues, the BMSC, which stimulated a 'generation of institutions and clubs' functioned as a key site for efforts to influence the cultural production of Africans.[32]

In late 1921 J. Dexter Taylor was appointed to run the ABM's Durban station, which had been vacant since Bridgman's departure for the Rand. 'If my presence in Durban is going to amount to anything at all', he wrote to Boston, 'it will be through undertaking certain lines of social service similar to what is being done in Johannesburg.'[33] It was not long before Taylor showed himself to be at least the equal of Bridgman. During the first year of his residency in Durban, an ad hoc committee was organized with the declared inten-

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29. See GJCR, GNWA, Minute Book.

30. For a more detailed examination of the ABM social service activities on the Rand see chapter 1 below. For an account of ABM and Joint Council activities in the Durban area see R.J. Haines, 'Policing Urban Culture: Inter-Racial Philanthropy in Durban 1907-1932' (Urban History Workshop seminar paper, University of Natal, Durban, 1983).

31. ABM Papers, 15/4, Vol 39, Report of Johannesburg Social Work Department, 1923-1924.

32. Couzens, 'Moralizing Leisure Time'.

33. ABM Papers, 15/4, Vol 38, J.D. Taylor to Rev. W. Strong, 10 October 1921.

tion of establishing a Bantu Social Centre.[34] The committee consisted, among others, of certain DJC members and after several setbacks was able to see the Centre finally opened in approximately 1932.[35] The DJC was also involved, directly and indirectly, in a number of other ventures: the institution of a film circuit for Africans in and around Durban; attempts to secure more teachers for ABM-sponsored night schools in the city; the establishment of a Gamma Sigma Club for young 'educated natives' and seeking the local YWCA's assistance in schemes for social work among African women.[36]

The first meeting of the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Natives was held on 3 April 1922. The Council had been organized by a committee of the NNARA 'on the basis of an equal number of Native and European members'. The whites were elected by the NNARA committee and the Africans elected representatives out of their own number.[37] James Dexter Taylor was secretary of the Council and the white membership, as he described it, included 'members of the Town Council, the head of the Municipal Native Affairs Department, merchants, men from Railway administration and missionaries and native ministers of the various denominations, including the RC's [Roman Catholics]'.[38] Apart from the 'native ministers', African members included local teachers and those from the Amanzimtoti and Ohlange Institutes (the latter being John Dube's school), as well as representatives from the Durban branch of the ANC, such as W. Bulose. In December 1923 the Council was reorganized on the basis that white members were elected by the Natal Society of Journalists, the Town Council,

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34. ABM in Natal Papers, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg, A/2/12, C.G. Smith to J.D. Taylor, 27 September 1924; Town Clerk to J. Dextor Taylor, 13 March 1924.

35. Maurice Webb Papers, Killie Campbell Library, University of Natal, Durban, KCM 21781, Notes on Bantu Social Centre Library; JCR, Cd3.1, D. Shepstone to Rheinallt Jones, 15 September 1933.

36. Haines, 'Policing Urban Culture'.

37. JCR, Cd3.2, Report of DJC, 1925.

38. ABM Papers, 15/4, Vol 39, Report for Durban and District by J.D. Taylor, 1922.

the Natal Teachers' Association, the regional Roman Catholic vicariate, the YMCA, the Durban Free Church Council, the Chamber of Commerce, the Native Affairs Department, the Marianhill and American Board Missions.[39] The African members preferred more **ad hoc** methods of selection and the latter method prevailed for the Council as a whole by the late 1920s.

The formation of the Durban Joint Council appears to have been less influenced by mass African protest than its Johannesburg counterpart. During 1918-1920 there were strikes by African dock workers and municipal employees. The ricksha-pullers also went on strike for higher pay in 1918.[40] However, although John Dube's hold over the Durban ANC was beginning to be questioned by sections of a still small urban petty bourgeoisie in Durban and Pietermaritzburg,[41] there was still no real equivalent of the **Abantu Batho** faction on the Rand. The note of urgency regarding 'racial conflict' on the Reef in the correspondence of Bridgman during 1920-1921 and earlier,[42] was not echoed by American Board missionaries in the Durban-Amanzimtoti area. Insofar as white philanthropists were responding to a crisis in social relations, it was probably due to the visible signs of increased African urbanization in Durban. The city's African population rose from 17 925 in 1918 to 29 011 in 1921. By 1930 it was around 40 000 and by 1936, 71 000.[43]

A major issue during the early years of the DJC was the Urban Areas legislation.[44] Security of tenure in urban areas was the **cri de coeur** of most

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39. JCR, Cd3.2, Report of DJC to 1925.

40. Cited by P. Maylam, 'Aspects of African Urbanization in the Durban Area before 1940' in Haines and Buijs, **The Struggle for Social and Economic Space.**

41. R.J. Haines, 'Reflections on African Protest in Natal, 1925-1936' in 'Natal and the Union', a collection of papers presented at a workshop at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg 1978, 9; S. Marks, **Ambiguities, 67.**

42. See e.g. ABM Papers, Vol 40, Bridgman to Rev. Barton, 10 November 1920.

43. Maylam, 'Aspects of African Urbanization', 50.

44. JCR, Cd3.2, Report of the DJC to 1925.

of the African members, and a segregated 'model native village' (a recurrent theme in DJC discussions and petitions) was viewed more as inclusion than exclusion from the 'white' city. Segregation, especially if it held promise of freehold tenure, does not seem to have been a particularly pejorative term in the early and mid-1920s.[45]

Joint Council schemes for 'cleaning up' the city had the support, though undoubtedly lukewarm in instances, of the African members. They were not so much duped by Christian-liberal morality, than pursuing their own strategies of survival, class-conditioned though they were.[46] The DJC was not the only social and institutional resource they attempted to use. But in retrospect, where they did err was to overestimate the influence the Council had with local and central state authorities. In the early years of the DJC relatively close links were established with the municipality. The municipality subsidized the social work of the Council and, in October 1924, paid the travelling expenses of two Joint Council delegates to a conference of Joint Councils and Native Welfare Societies in Johannesburg.[47] The social work of the DJC was entwined with a variety of projects co-ordinated by Taylor.[48]

Among the DJC's attempts during the early and mid-1920s to 'moralize' leisure and recreation activities among urban Africans were the organizing of a committee to control sports and recreation at the Somtseu location near the centre of town, and the pressurizing the Town Council to build football fields. More suspect, and illustrating the notion of 'pleasure in the sur-

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45. See e.g. resolutions proposed by Rev Z.R. Mahabane and Mr Brookes at the Dutch Reformed Church Conference, 1923, reprinted in Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol I, 232.

46. On the question of what Giddens terms the 'dialectic of control' see Marks, **Ambiguities**, and Willan, 'Sol Plaatje, De Beers and an Old Tram Shed'.

47. JCR, Ac3.3.10, Conference on Native Affairs, 1924, Development of Joint Councils and formation of a Federal Council by J.D. Taylor.

48. For a fuller discussion see Haines, 'Policing Urban Culture'.

veillance of pleasure',[49] was a 1924 study conducted by the Joint Council

> ...of the native dance halls at Mayville (on the outskirts of Durban). We organized a committee of four and spent the evening till midnight visiting the wretched places finding sanitary conditions and moral conditions of a shocking character.[50]

These and other dance halls in the suburbs were ultimately closed down by the Provincial Council.[51] The DJC received considerable press coverage for these investigations.[52]

Although African protest politics during this period was somewhat more activist in Pretoria than in Durban, the PNWA made less of a conscious effort at the cultural 'transformation' of urban Africans. Nevertheless, in its social welfare work, especially in the locations, it was more systematic than its Durban or Johannesburg counterparts. This orientation was reflected in the organizational structure of the Association. A 'panel system' introduced in June 1921 envisaged the active membership participating in one of four panels. The Location Panel was 'to confine itself strictly to agitation for a new location on satisfactory lines, and structural alterations in the existing location'.[53] The other panels dealt respectively with Social Service (in the location(s)), Women's Problems and Research. The panels were to meet at least three times a year and the convener would act as secretary.[54]

The PNWA executive reported in early 1924 that the panel system had not been by any means 'uniformly successful'.[55] One panel had never met and another

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49. M. Foucoult, **Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977** (Brighton, 1980), 186.

50. ABM Papers, 15/4, Vol 39, Report of Durban and District by J. D. Taylor, 1923-1924.

51. JCR, Cd3.2, Report of the DJC to 1925.

52. ABM Papers, 15/4, Vol 39, Report of Durban and District, 1923-1924.

53. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Executive Committee Minutes, 7 June 1921.

54. This system was not unlike the sub-committee arrangement of the JJC. The DJC, in contrast, does not appear to have operated on such a format at this time.

55. JCR, Cp9.3, PNWA Executive Committee Report, 1922-1923.

had been convened only once. The Social Service and Research Panels, however, had 'done exceedingly useful work'.[56] The Women's Problems and Location Panels were subsequently merged with the Social Service Panel, but the system as a whole was abandoned in February 1925 as being 'too unwieldy for the needs of the Association'.[57]

Initially, the joint council section of the Association consisted of the PNWA executive 'and certain members co-opted thereto'.[58] In late 1922 an African counterpart of the Association was instituted.[59] In 1924 it was decided that the Joint Council would be composed of the PNWA executive and a corresponding number (15) elected by the 'Native Association'.[60] The Joint Council met most regularly of any of the sections - usually once a month - and conducted most of the business. By the end of 1924 the PNWA claimed, not immodestly, to have promoted - among other things - the building of a new location (only completed in 1934) and contributed to 'the improvement of Marabastad, the gradual reduction of rack-renting in the Asiatic Bazaar, better lighting, better health conditions...' The Association refrained from claiming credit for the opening in 1924 of the Native Girls' Hostel, rather singling out one of their executive, Mrs C. Christie, as 'its honoured founder'.[61]

The nature and scope of PNWA welfare work was conditioned by three factors in particular: the main location (Marabastad) was closer to the white inner city than other major centres. Moreover, there was greater overlapping of membership, and co-operation with women's and civic reform societies. In

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56. JCR, Cp9.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1922-1923.

57. **Ibid.**, Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 5 February 1925.

58. **Ibid.**, PNWA Executive Committee Minutes, 8 December 1921.

59. **Ibid.**, PNWA Minutes, 3 November 1922.

60. **Ibid.**, PNWA Minutes, 31 January 1924.

61. **Ibid.** Cp9.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1924.

addition, the Association had more active white women members than its counterparts. One presumes that some of the women members were not in formal employment and thus had more time to devote to philanthropic activity.

As a good deal of health work outside professional medicine was seen as offering 'opportunities' to women, the preoccupation of the PNWA with health is partly explained. Among the society's activities in this regard was the running of a Health Week in 1923 in conjunction with the Civic Association;[62] assisting in forming a branch of the Lovedale-based Native and Coloured Health Society and agitating (ultimately successfully) for the establishment of baby and V.D. clinics in the main location. Though attempts to establish an African hospital went unrewarded, the authorities agreed that plans for a new general hospital would provide more accommodation for Africans.[63] In a related activity - a joint venture with the Women's Reform Club - prizes were given for the best-kept gardens and homes in the location.[64]

The PNWA paid more consistent attention to the mechanics and structures of native policy and administration than the JJC. This was partly because Pretoria, as the administrative centre of South Africa, housed the NAD headquarters. Activities in these areas also bore the mark of Edgar Brookes, the secretary and increasingly the chief ideologist of the Association during the period under review.[65] As head of the Department of Public Administration and Political Studies at the Transvaal University College and author of **The History of Native Policy in South Africa** (published in 1924 but available as a written text some time before this date), Brookes had established himself as

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62. **Ibid.**, Cp9.4, PNWA Special Meeting Minutes, 12 October 1923.

63. **Ibid.**, Cp9.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1922-1923.

64. **Ibid.**

65. For background detail on Edgar Brookes's earlier writings and activities see R.J. Haines, 'Dr Edgar H. Brookes and the Liberalism of the 1930s' (BA Hons Essay, University of Natal, Durban, 1975); Brookes, **A South African Pilgrimage**, 20-21.

an authority on native administration and policy.[66] In addition, Loram - who worked closely with the PNWA (especially the Research Panel) while in Pretoria[67] - seems to have helped in making formal representations to the NAD.

Finally, there was something of an interplay between the PNWA and the Transvaal University College in the elaboration of a programme of Bantu Studies at the university, a programme and approach which was explicitly intended to feed into public policy making. In an address to the 1921 annual meeting of the Association, the head of Anthropology, Prof. W.A. Macfayden, pointed to the dearth of 'scientific work in the field of ethnology and anthropology in South Africa', stressed the need for 'the proper instruction of administrators, magistrates, missionaries, traders, etc. in native affairs', and 'then outlined a scheme drawn up by a staff committee of the University College providing for the thorough investigation and imparting of the discoveries made in native life and psychology'.[68] In its 1924 Annual Report the PNWA recorded its appreciation of the 'Bantu Studies Classes' run by the University College and recommended them to its members. A major concern of the Research Panel, on which Brookes was one of the most active participants, was to institute anthropological training for careerist NAD officials and to push for a nationwide 'ethnological survey'.[69]

The African members of the Joint Council section of the PNWA appear to have been less involved in the decision-making process of the society than were their JJC counterparts. While taking into account the possibility of white censorship of the minutes, one is struck by the apparent absence of

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66. In the 1924 PNWA Annual Report, Brookes is described as 'not only a local force, but as a national force'. JCR, Cp9.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1924.

67. **Ibid.**, PNWA Annual Report, 1922-1923: 'The assistance of Dr Loram in the Research work of the Association, as indeed in every direction, has been generously given and is gratefully appreciated'.

68. **Pretoria News**, 8 November 1921.

69. JCR, Cp9.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1924.

African criticism of the policies and procedures of the Association. With the exception of Makgatho, members downplayed any overt political affiliations. Makgatho does not appear to have had a formal bloc of support in the Joint Council. For instance, his call in late 1922 for the withdrawal of the Urban Areas Bill, based on the Witwatersrand Advisory Boards Congress resolutions, met with no support from other African members.[70]

One finds less competition between interest groups in the PJC than in the JJC. This is largely explained by the fact that occupational groups were both fewer and without formal representation on the Council. The majority of African members were clergymen, minor government officials (usually clerks and court interpreters) and teachers. Teachers formed the largest group during the early and mid-1920s and dominant among these was a contingent from the Kilnerton Institute.[71]

The Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society (CPNWS) was established in early 1922,[72] and appears to have operated somewhat more independently of the JJC than other societies. For example, in early 1924 the Society attempted to persuade other associations to support a joint resolution fairly critical of the Urban Areas Act regulations.[73] The Society was more decisively dismissive of efforts in the late 1924 and after, to control the influx of African women into the towns.[74] The **South African Outlook**, in an account of the proceedings of the 1924 Joint Council conference, made special reference to one of the Cape Society's delegates, a Mrs Shaw

...whose clear, decided and liberal views always command respect. She

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70. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 24 March 1922.

71. The Kilnerton Institute was a Methodist-run secondary school and teacher training college just outside Pretoria.

72. **Cape Times**, 15 May 1923, Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society (CPNWS), 1st Annual Report.

73. JCR, Cp9.4, Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society Minutes, 24 March 1922.

74. JCR, Cj2.1.4, M. Wilson to Rheinallt Jones, 23 December 1924.

intervened perhaps most strikingly when she declared in tones of unmistakable resolution that those she represented would not tolerate for one moment a proposal for the medical examination of African women in towns.[75]

This independence was no doubt partly a reflection of the physical distance of Cape Town from the Rand. But the Society also represented something of a continuation of the Cape liberal 'tradition',[76] which can be seen in its' vigourous opposition to the government's brutal supression of the 1922 Bondelswarts revolt.[77] Furthermore, the body appears to have had close working relationship with the Aborigines' Protection Society (APS) during the early 1920s.[78] Among the prime concerns of the CPNWS was the upgrading of the Ndabeni location. Pressure was placed on the City Council to achieve this aim and to widen channels of communication with Ndabeni residents.[79] It also kept in close touch with the municipality during 1923 and after regarding the planing of the new African township of Langa.[80] The CPNWS even developed contacts with the YMCA in an effort to persuade the latter to 'organize institutional work among native youths and men',[81] but nothing concrete appears to have been achieved.[82] In mid-1924 the **South African Outlook** congratulated the Society on its activities as revealed in its 1923 Annual Report and approved of the decision taken to appoint an organizing secretary.[83]

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75. **South African Outlook**, 1 December 1924.

76. For instance, J.X. Merriman, a liberal political figure, was the honorary president and Senator A.W. Roberts, a known liberal, was one of its vice-presidents. **Cape Times**, 15 May 1923, CPNWS, 1st Annual Report.

77. **Ibid.**

78. See e.g. **Cape Times**, 5 May 1924, CPNWS, 2nd Annual Report.

79. **Ibid.**, 15 May 1923.

80. **Ibid.**, 5 May 1924.

81. **Ibid.**

82. **Ibid.**

83. **Ibid.**, June 1924; **Cape Times**, 5 May 1924.

The scarcity of records of some of the native welfare societies makes a general analysis of their activities and perceptions rather difficult. Generalizations therefore have to be somewhat cautious. The smaller societies tended to concern themselves with local issues, most of which fell under the rubric of 'location reform'. Improvement of street lights, provision of adequate water supplies and establishment of rudimentary health services were among their aims. A dominant issue for most, if not all the societies - and one that had 'national' implications - was the urban areas legislation and the associated question of security of tenure for urban Africans. Here the societies provided a service (albeit imperfect) in outlining the content and ramifications of the legislation (both before and after it was passed) and in conveying to the central and local authorities the need of the urban African petty bourgeoisie (aspirant and actual) for some form of stable tenure.

The activities and interests of the individual societies reflected the kind of urban centre in which they were based. Thus the Grahamstown Native Welfare Association, unlike its counterparts in the larger more industrial centres, had as one of its concerns the high grazing fees charged by the local municipality.[84] In the larger urban centres with substantial African populations, one finds the most co-ordinated efforts to persuade local authorities to resite old locations and/or to establish new ones. This is partly an indication of the faster growth rate and greater commodification of space in these centres.[85] It also reflects the 'civic-mindedness' or desire for the 'city beautiful' by members of inter-racial philanthropic bodies - whites especially. Such attitudes lent themselves to attempts to formulate more 'attractive'

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84. GJCR, GNWA Minutes, 17 February 1922.

85. Padayachee and Haines, 'Capital Accumulation', 4-9, 12-13, 25-33.

and 'integrated' permutations of urban segregation.[86] In addition, because of the greater concentrations of Africans in the inner-city areas of Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban, the bigger societies were also involved in 'social service' work outside the environs of the locations.

Two conferences, the 1923 European-Bantu Conference held under the auspices of the DRC[87] and an in-house gathering of native welfare societies and joint councils held in November 1924,[88] served more to indicate common ideological ground for the societies than to provide substantial organizational integration. This was particularly the case with the 1923 DRC conference. A distinct euphoria in securing (apparent) Afrikaans support for native welfare initiatives blunted internal critical analysis of the proceedings. An **ad hoc** committee of joint councils and native societies which had no DRC presence was formed at this conference.[1] The logistics of inter-racial philanthropy, especially the question of funding, was not discussed in full conference, nor was the problem of expanding the membership of the joint councils and welfare societies.

Those present at the first conference included the representatives of all Protestant churches, white and African delegates of the joint councils and native welfare societies, delegates from African churches, the ANC and some chiefs. The conference adopted a series of resolutions which dealt with the necessity for improving African education, the Urban Areas Act and better social facilities for Africans. Segregation was something of a 'buzzword' at the conference, partly because it was, to borrow Foucault's term, a 'floating signifier'.[89] Several speakers spoke on this topic, among them Rev. Mahabane,

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86. D. Pinnock, 'Ideology and Urban Planning: Blueprints of a Garrison City' in W.G. James and M. Simons, **The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape** (Cape Town, 1989).

87. JCR, Ac1.2, Conference on Native Affairs 1923, Minutes.

88. JCR, Ac3, Conference on Native Affairs, Johannesburg, 30 October - 1 November 1924.

89. i.e. meaning different things to different people.

the Cape ANC leader, and Brookes. Mahabane distinguished geographical from territorial segregation, while Brookes endorsed the principle of 'differential development' to ensure the 'preservation of European culture' and the achievement of 'cultural authenticity' by Africans.[90] Macmillan gave what he later described as 'my first public statement on African affairs'. He argued that 'the ... principle of separate areas is undoubtedly a sound and solid gain to the natives' but drew attention to the essential interconnectedness of the economic activity of whites and Africans.[91] This idea was to become a central theme in the Report of the 1925 Wage and Economic Commission - a document which provided an important touchstone in liberal thinking in the later 1920s and after.[92]

Segregation was not so explicitly on the agenda of the 1924 'Conference on Native Affairs' which was organized by the steering committee set up at the DRC conference of 1923. The administration of the Urban Areas Act was the most important topic in 1924. This was reflected in the conference agenda - which accorded pride of place to a large session discussing the Act - and in the kind of delegates present.[93] The Government was represented by the Native Affairs Commissioners and by a Mr Allison of the Native Affairs Department. In addition 'some town councillors, and the location superintendents or their deputies from nearly all the larger municipalities throughout the Union' were present.[94] All the native welfare societies and joint councils, eleven in total, appear to have been represented. There were independent African dele-

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90. JCR, Ac1.4.2, Resolutions on Native Affairs Adopted by the Conference, 1923.

91. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 182.

92. See chapter 5 for a discussion of the impact of this report.

93. JCR, Ac3.2, Agenda and list of delegates of Conference on Native Affairs, Johannesburg, 30 October - 1 November 1924.

94. **South African Outlook**, 1 December 1924.

gates such as Chiefs Zibi and Fenyang and Dr Molema. Also, 'the Anglican and Wesleyan Churches were strongly represented'.[95]

A number of themes were covered in this conference, ranging from the Native (Urban Areas) Act[96] to the administration of justice[97] and the provision of medical,[98] education[99] and recreational[100] facilities for Africans. Two papers were given on the development and possible federation of joint councils. Selope Thema placed the South African experiment in an international context.[101] He referred to the establishment of the League of Nations where 'coloured states' participated 'in all discussions and deliberations on an equal footing with its white members'. This principle of co-operation could 'safely be applied to the consideration of the inter-racial problems with which the world is confronted today'. Thema argued that the establishment of the Inter-Racial Commission in the Southern States in 1918 and its extension to South Africa was symptomatic of a growing spirit of inter-racial co-operation. He pointed out to the conference that they were not discussing 'the native question but the problems in which the two races were involved'. He noted 'a growing consciousness of inter-racial dependence which is a keynote to inter-racial co-operation', and called for the 'establishment of Joint Councils and a Federal Council of these organizations'.[102]

Dexter Taylor presented the second paper on the formation of a federal

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95. **Ibid.**

96. Speakers on this topic included: Rheinallt Jones, Selby Msimang and Fr. F. Hill. JCR, Ac3.3.1; Ac3.3.7 and Ac3.3.8.

97. S. Plaatje and W.H. Ramsbottom. **Ibid.**, Ac3.3.12 and Ac3.3.13.

98. J. Henderson and Dr S.M. Molema. **Ibid.**, Ac3.3.20 and Ac3.3.21.

99. D. Palmer. **Ibid.**, 3.3.19.

100. R.E. Phillips. **Ibid.**, Ac3.3.3.

101. **Ibid.**, Ac 3.3.11, The Establishment of Joint Councils and a Federal Council by Selope Thema.

102. **Ibid.**

council. He recommended that joint councils and native welfare societies should strive for greater local efficiency and better co-ordination and made a number of proposals to upgrade local action. He felt that welfare societies should be recognized by town councils as 'Advisory Boards on native affairs to which the Council shall submit all matters of policy relating to natives before taking action'.[103]

Focussing on the idea of a joint council federation, Dexter Taylor argued that the most obvious way of increasing the efficiency of the welfare societies would be the formation of a national organization. Among other advantages, 'the voice of such a federated council could not fail to carry conviction to any government and its findings would almost certainly become the basis of the country's native policy'. Also, the existence of a central Executive would enable local bodies to keep in touch with one another 'and awake to important issues'. In addition, an annual conference of delegated representatives of the local societies would 'galvanize the local societies into new activity'. The envisaged organizational structure of the federation would not interfere with the constitutions of the local welfare societies, although a model constitution would be prepared to serve as a guideline to new societies or to those wishing to amend their constitutions. A 'Federated Council of Native Welfare Societies' would consist of two white and two African delegates from each society and would meet annually. A 'Central Executive' formed from the Johannesburg and Pretoria societies would keep in touch with the local societies and represent the Federal Council between its sittings and in representations to Government. A Sub-committee of the Executive would be formed from the Cape Town Society to make representations to the Government while Parliament was sitting.[104]

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103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

The joint councils would undoubtedly have benefitted from the establishment of such a federal body. However, the creation of the SAIRR[105] hampered developments in this line. Although a central Consultative Committee was eventually established in the 1930s,[106] it never co-ordinated the activities of the societies to the extent Taylor had recommended.

CONCLUSION

At the end of 1924 there were joint councils or native welfare societies in most major urban centres of South Africa. While the joint council model had spread, it had not become orthodoxy. Though most of the native welfare societies had established some form of regular meetings - either institutionalized or informal - with Africans, there does not seem to have been much pressure, either internally or externally, on the societies to adopt a joint council format. There was, however, a consolidation of relations between them, a development which was related to a perceived increase of white public awareness of the need for 'native welfare' and 'inter-racial' mediation, as well as a consensus that some kind of federal organization of native welfare societies and joint councils was both necessary and inevitable.

Segregation - as future 'native policy' - had not been directly challenged by the joint councils. Indeed, in 1923 it was seen as a kind of common ideological ground on which to link up with the DRC in developing a broadly-based approach to 'native welfare'. Whether segregation was the liberal orthodoxy of the 1920s, as Hancock argues for instance,[107] hinges to a considerable extent on one's working definition of the term. Few leading joint councillors explicitly enunciated a policy of 'parallel differentiation' as Edgar Brookes was doing in 1923-1924, although criticisms of this position were rather

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105. Discussed in detail in chapter 7.

106. See chapter 8 for further information.

107. W.K. Hancock, **Smuts: The Fields of Force, 1919-1950** (Cambridge, 1968), 111-115.

muted. However, Brookes in his writings of the mid-1920s took pains to counter the arguments of a group of liberal 'integrationists' or 'assimilationists' who were largely based on the Rand[108] and probably included a number of JJC members. For instance, there was Saul Solomon, an old-style Cape liberal who had moved up from that province to take up a judgeship in the Transvaal. There were also younger men such as O.D. Schreiner and H. Ramsbottom, lawyers influenced by the progressive side of Cape legal practice tradition which had been historically related to Cape liberalism.[109] Both played important roles in 1926 in persuading the JJC to to unequivocally oppose the abolition of the Cape franchise. Furthermore, as the orientation and personnel of the CPNWS suggests there were continuities with turn-of-the-century Cape liberalism.

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108. See e.g Brookes's introduction to his **History of Native Policy** (1924) and 'Towards a Native Policy', a series of 3 newspaper articles (1925) in Don Africana Library, Durban.

109. Interview with Julius Lewin, London, 12 November 1979.

CHAPTER 5

THE JOINT COUNCILS AND THE POLITICS OF SEGREGATION, C.1925-1929

This period witnessed the expansion and diversification of the joint council movement, as well as the development of a considerably more coherent liberal ideology by intellectuals in the councils, the Johannesburg Joint Council in particular.

From nine in 1924, the joint councils/native welfare societies had grown to seventeen in number by mid-1928.[1] The Cradock Joint Council was formed in December 1928 while Indo-European joint councils were formed in Johannesburg and Durban during 1928-1929. In addition, two separate organizations were spawned from the joint councils - the Non-Racial Franchise Association and the South African Institute of Race Relations. The politics of the formation of the Institute will be discussed in chapter seven. The anticipated relationship with the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) failed to materialize during this period. The first two 'European-Native' Conferences were hosted by the DRC, but the third - which Loram found too political in tone - [2] was organized by the joint councils themselves.[3]

The joint council format became more established practice during the second half of the 1920s. For example, in 1925 the East London Native Welfare Association reconstituted itself as a 'Joint European and Native Council', but retained its original name.[4] However, the growth of the joint council movement was uneven and somewhat fragile. A number of the councils led a

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1. See Appendix C for a list of the seventeen joint councils; JCR, Aa3.1, 'The "Joint Council" Movement: What it is and How it works', 1928.

2. Phelps Stokes Fund Papers (PSF), Schomburg Centre for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, C.T. Loram to F. Keppel, 8 February 1929.

3. Extracts from and discussion on these conferences can be found in Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol I, 150-151 and 233-247; Haines, 'The Opposition' 64-65.

4. CAD, East London Town Clerk, 3/ELN, Notice to General Purposes Committee from ELNWA, 24 June 1925.

rather precarious existence during this time. Umtata and Grahamstown were defunct for most of the period and Ladysmith, as Loram commented in 1928, was decidedly 'backward', having 'done nothing for the Natives except run a beer canteen and keep going a cemetery'.[5] The Benoni Joint Council which was set up in 1927, had to be periodically revived during the remaining years of the decade. Some of the larger societies also had their hiccups. Durban, for instance, was relatively inactive from late 1925 until well into 1927. And Rheinallt Jones observed in mid-1926 that the Cape Town Native Welfare Society did not include 'many prominent persons whom one might expect to have been drawn into the work of the Society'.[6] The JJC, in contrast, increased its membership during this period. It was reported in 1926 that African membership was being drawn from a number of the Reef centres and even as far away as Springs.[7] Relatively speaking, the PJC[8] turned out to be the 'star' performer, significantly increasing its white and African membership and even drawing plaudits from the Native Affairs Department:

> It [the PJC] numbers among its members some of the prominent citizens of the town and its objects are in the opinion of this Dept. altogether laudable.[9]

Rheinallt Jones, along with his wife, Edith, was the dominant force behind the growth of the joint councils, but found it increasingly difficult to manage joint council affairs on a part-time basis. There was a growing need for the appointment of a paid full-time organizer. As he pointed out to

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5. JCR, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 24 February 1928.

6. JCR, Ad4, Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives and Native Welfare Societies of South Africa: Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926.

7. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1926.

8. During the 1920s the distinction between the PNWA and its joint council component became blurred. For convenience sake the organization will hereafter be referred to as the Pretoria Joint Council (PJC) in the text of the thesis.

9. Central Archives Depot (hereafter referred to by its commonly used Afrikaans acronym, SAB), Naturellesake (NTS), 7204, 16/326, Note from Secretary of Native Affairs to Secretary of the Interior, 12 November 1928.

T. Jesse Jones in September 1928:

> So far no step has been possible to arrange for me or anyone else to be set aside for Joint Council work. Whatever has been done has been in addition to my responsibilities at the university, and it is becoming clear that my physical strength is unequal to the load I have been trying to carry. A week ago I collapsed completely and had to lie up in a state of complete physical exhaustion. My doctor has for the past year been urging me to ease off, but I have been so anxious to bring the Joint Council work to fruition.[10]

Apart from burgeoning administrative work there was also significant ideological rethinking within the joint councils. The second half of the 1920s saw a general shift away from segregationism as a liberal option. This facilitated in part the making of a more uniform liberal discourse, a process Martin Legassick has identified as the emergence of modern South African liberalism.[11] This process involved a reaffirmation of Cape liberal tenets, especially the idea of a qualified franchise for petty bourgeois Africans.[12] This rediscovery of Cape liberalism in turn was linked to protests, within and without the joint councils, against the segregationist programme of the Hertzog administration, particularly the so-called Mines and Works Amendment Bill and the 'Native Bills'.[13] A significant input was provided by the 1925 **Report of the Wage and Economic Commission.** The Commission pointed out, **inter alia**, that the economic futures of Africans and whites were in effect entwined: 'The contact of Native and European has lasted too long and their economic co-operation is too intimate and well established for the Native to be excluded from European areas ...'[14] This apparent truism became something of a touch-

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10. JCR, Rheinallt Jones to Jesse Jones, 17 September 1928.

11. M. Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism'.

12. Haines, 'The Opposition', chapters 1 and 2.

13. **Ibid.**

14. UG 14-'26, **Report of the Economic and Wage Commission, 1925**, 152.

stone for liberal productions in the later 1920s and after.[15]

The period under review saw a distinct attempt by Hertzog to have a uniform 'native policy' enunciated and implemented.[16] The trend of legislation under the Pact government was to continue the erosion of Africans' security of tenure, especially on white-owned land.[17] 'So much of the native land problem', Brookes wrote in 1933, 'is a problem of secure tenancy rather than ownership'.[18] The 1926 Masters and Servants' Law Amendment Act classified labour tenants as ordinary labourers for disciplinary purposes. Moreover, the Act raised considerably the fees farmers were liable to pay for having squatters on their lands. The 1926 and 1929 Land Bills also had harsh anti-squatting provisions and strict labour tenancy clauses.

The 1927 Native Administration Act extended the executive powers of the NAD. As Lacey remarks, 'The NAD could do practically what they liked in the name of the Supreme Chief [the Governor-General] without being either answerable to Parliament or the law'.[19] Tribal chiefs were made an important part of the administrative machinery,[20] and administrative courts were set up which effectively reduced the power of the judicial courts.

A number of joint council members had fairly close ties with Hertzog which partly explains certain ambiguities in the councils' response to segregationist legislation during this time. Loram, by virtue of his role in the Phelp Stokes Commission and position in the NAC, was able to influence joint

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15. See for instance pamphlet in JCR, Cj2.7.3, **The Native in Industry: Memorandum 3** (Johannesburg, n.d.); S.H. Frankel and E.H. Brookes, 'Problems of Economic Inequality: The Poor White and the Native' in E.H. Brookes (et. al.), **Coming of Age: Studies in South African Citizenship and Politics** (Cape Town, 1930).

16. For a discussion of the evolution of Hertzog's segregationist views see Haines, 'The Opposition', 24-30, -36 and 44-45; Lacey, **Working for Boroko**, chapters 1-3; Dubow, **Racial Segregation**, 43-50 especially .

17. Haines and Cross, 'An Historical Overview of Land Policy and Tenure in South Africa's Black Areas', 80.

18. E. Brookes, **The Colour Problems of South Africa** (Lovedale, 1934) 121.

19. Lacy, **Working for Boroko**, 99.

20. A discussion on the incorporation of chiefs into the NAD structures can be found in **Ibid.**, 107-111.

council policy. During 1924-1925 he gained a pivotal role in the making of government policy.[21] Among other things, he assisted Hertzog in writing speeches which defended segregation.[22] Edgar Brookes, chairman of the PJC, was also associated with the elaboration of Hertzog's segregationist policies. His doctoral thesis, which contained an outline of parallel development, provided Hertzog with an intellectual reference point for the promotion of his programme.[23] Brookes gave public support to Hertzog on this matter in 1925 and 1926.[24] There were several other liberals, such as chairman of the JJC, Howard Pim, who were initially prepared to give qualified support to Hertzog's segregation proposals.[25] Rheinallt Jones in the closing months of 1925 appears to have made an effort to maintain cordial links with Hertzog regarding the latter's imminent pronouncements on native policy.[26]

During the years 1925-1926 the opposition of joint councils and native welfare societies to the policies of the government of the day developed more vigour. This shift was largely a reactive process - a series of related responses to actual and pending legislative and administrative measures - rather than an exercise in strategic premeditation.[27] The JJC took the lead

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21. 'I have become, they say, Hertzog's chief induna and he needs my advice'. A.P. Stokes Papers, Yale University, Box 31, File 509, Loram to Malcolm (Inspector of Education in Natal), 15 November 1924.

22. Cell, **The Highest Stage of White Supremacy**, 221.

23. PSF, File Charles Loram 1927-1929, J.H. Oldham to Phelps Stokes: '[Brookes] was closely associated with General Hertzog in the formulation of the native policy which the Prime Minister has introduced into the South African parliament...'; Brookes, **A South African Pilgrimage**, 22; Haines, 'The Opposition', 24; J.B.M. Hertzog Papers, SAB, Vol. 35, Hertzog - Brookes correspondence.

24. E. Brookes, **History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day** (Cape Town, 1924), introduction; **Cape Times**, 21 October 1924, editorial; E. Brookes, 'Towards a Native Policy', a series of three newspaper articles (1925) in Don Africana Library, Durban.

25. There is some debate over the nature and extent of Pim's support of segregation 1925-1926. See Haines, 'The Opposition', 57-59; Legassick, 'The Making of Modern South Africa', 19-21.

26. JCR, Cj2.1.5, D. Steyn to Rheinallt Jones, 25 November 1925.

27. Haines, 'The Opposition', chapter 1.

in co-ordinating much of the protest but did not set out to be provocative; gentle persuasion and a willingness to compromise characterized many a dealing of the Council with the new Pact government.[28] However, in its dealings with the Colour Bar and Segregation Bill, the joint councils did provoke the ire of senior parliamentarians such as Hertzog.[29]

The Johannesburg Joint Council was prominent in focusing protest against the 1925 Mines and Works ('Colour Bar') Bill. The Mines and Works Amendment Act largely re-instituted those sections of the 1911 Mines and Works Act that had been found by the courts to be **ultra vires.** In other areas, 'colour bar' protection was in effect strengthened by the 1925 Wage Act. Under its provisions the Wage Board could determine the minimum wage in industries where workers were not unionized. Although it contained no reference to discrimination on grounds of race or colour, its sponsors made it clear that they intended to eliminate 'competition between higher civilization and lower civilization'. In application it was racist: Wage Board determinations were concentrated in those areas where Africans were in competition with whites and did little in areas where there was no such competition.[30] Smuts's SAP opposed these measures quite vigorously, but they - and the mining interests they represented - were far more concerned about how these might be administered against the mining industry, about than the principles embodied in the Acts. Indeed, it is debatable whether there was all that much difference between the respective industrial programmes of the South African Party and

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28. This is illustrated particularly in JJC activities in the first half of 1925 with regard to the threatened introduction of night passes for African women - an episode that will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter. See also JCR, Cj2.1.5, Memorandum on Native Policy addressed to the Prime Minister, 1925.

29. See for example **The Star**, 20 January 1925; Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 184-188; JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926, 6.

30. W.E. Williams, **South Africa's War Against Capitalism**, (Cape Town, 1990), 63.

Pact governments.[31]

The joint council campaign was sponsored in the earlier stages by the Chamber of Mines,[32] and although restraint rather than emotions predominated, it was nevertheless, as Martin Legassick points out, the 'first issue on which a major public and political co-ordinated challenge had been offered to the Government since Union by liberals'.[33] In March/April a JJC Sub-committee drew up a memorandum on the Colour Bar Bill which was dispatched to the Prime Minister and the Minister for Mines and Industries.[34] The JJC memorandum on the Colour Bar Bill was not without contradiction. The opening paragraph rejected the measure on grounds 'that the principle of a Colour Bar Bill in industry is economically unsound and morally unjust and is without precedent in any civilized country.' Elsewhere the Council, perhaps disingenuously, opposed the Bill because it was an ill-timed and ill-conceived installment of a still 'undefined policy of segregation'.[35]

At the same time the Council appears to have been carrying considerable segregationist baggage. They took as unproblematic the notion that there existed the dichotomous categories of 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' labour.[36] Also, the report appears to assume that the economic future of most Africans still lay within the reserves. The Council acknowledged, but did not appear to be unduly troubled by, the existence of a customary colour bar in industry. They pointed out that there had not been any considerable substitution of Africans for whites on the gold mines, and stressed that the 'displacement of

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31. D. Yudelman, **The Emergence of Modern South Africa** (Cape Town, 1984), 221-229; cf. R.H. Davies, **Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa, 1900-1960** (Sussex, 1979), 179-202.

32. Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism', 17.

33. **Ibid.**

34. JCR, Cj 2.6.3., Memorandum on Mines and Works (Colour Bar) Bill, 1926.

35. **Ibid.**

36. **Ibid.**, 3.

Europeans by Natives ... is effectively prevented by trade union vigilance and by the pressure of public opinion'.[37] Indeed, Howard Pim may well have been expressing the views of many a joint councillor when he wrote some months later that he personally had 'no quarrel with the natural colour bar formed by public opinion', but was opposed to a 'legal colour bar' as this would 'have grave reactions upon the relations between European and Natives throughout the Union'.[38]

It could be argued that the JJC was temperamentally and conceptually geared to accommodationist strategies regarding the small class of African petty bourgeoisie. Such a stance they could square with an acceptance of the notion of 'civilized labour'. The Council seemed concerned that the Bill would undermine its constituency by contributing to a radicalization of this class.[39] The JJC's vision still had a strong segregationist hue, but there seem to have been doubts whether an 'equitable policy of segregation' could find legislative expression under the Pact government. Alongside a wait-and-see attitude regarding Hertzog's programme, one finds hints of a new economic doctrine - prefiguring the findings of the 1925 Wage and Economic Commission - endorsing the closer economic integration of African and white:

> Failing an equitable policy of segregation, the only sound protection for legitimate white interests is to raise native standards by every possible means till they approximate to those of Europeans, and thus to eliminate the unfairness inherent in competition between civilized and uncivilized labour. The present measure, on the contrary, is calculated to depress the native standard and to aggravate the evil.
> The continuance of a depressed standard of living among natives reduces the 'National Dividend', and circumscribes a most important market for the products of South African agriculture and industries.[40]

This memorandum bore the influence of Macmillan and economist S.H.

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37. Ibid., 1.

38. Cited Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism', 17.

39. JCR, Cj 2.6.3, Memorandum on Mines and Works (Colour Bar) Bill, 1926, 1.

40. Ibid., 3.

Frankel. The latter was an ex-student of Macmillan and a leading member of the JJC in the late 1920s. Frankel developed Macmillan's work in a more rigorous way, within a framework informed by the economist's science of productive efficiency. In a 1926 address to the Johannesburg branch of the Economic Society of South Africa, he criticized the 'white labour viewpoint' of Brookes, arguing that it was unhelpful to refer to the 'economic' aspects of the 'native problem'. Both white and African unemployment could only be effectively solved by raising the 'national dividend'.[41]

Rheinallt Jones circularized various native welfare societies,[42] enclosing a copy of the memorandum. The Cape Town Society was requested to send a deputation to Hertzog and the minister concerned, in order to petition for the withdrawal or postponement of the Bill.[43] Native welfare societies which supported the JJC memorandum were urged to communicate this support to the secretary of the Cape Town body.[44]

In June Macmillan travelled to Cape Town 'expressly to lobby members of the Senate on the Colour Bar Bill'.[45] It appears, however, that a related concern was to achieve closer co-ordination between the JJC and the Cape Town Native Welfare Society in protests against the Colour Bar Bill and other discriminatory measures.[46] Macmillan had long interviews with Smuts, Hertzog and 'leading politicians', and the subsequent rejection of the Bill by the Senate in August 1925 was seen by the JJC hierarchy as due in part to his

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41. Dubow, **Racial Segregation**, 49-50.

42. Ladysmith, Bloemfontein, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Grahamstown, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London.

43. JCR, Cj2.1.5, letter signed by Rheinallt Jones, 25 April 1925; JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926, 5.

44. **Ibid.**, Cj2.1.5, letter signed by Rheinallt Jones, 25 April 1925.

45. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Travers Buxton, 9 August 1925.

46. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Russell, 20 June 1925.

intensive lobbying efforts.[47]

The Colour Bar Bill was re-introduced in early 1926 and the JJC 'decided to recast the previous memorandum on the Bill and publish it in the Press'.[48] In January 1926 Rheinallt Jones travelled down to Cape Town, beginning a six month period of university leave to work full time on joint council matters.[49] An important objective was to co-ordinate protest - informal and formal - against an array of discriminatory legislation, the 'Colour Bar' Bill in particular. A deputation to the Prime Minister led by the Archbishop of Cape Town was unsuccessful in stopping the passage of the Bill, and Rheinallt Jones found himself involved in unsuccessful efforts 'to delay the final passage'.[50] Next, Rheinallt Jones in conjunction with the Cape Town Native Welfare Society and the archbishop, called a meeting of 'prominent persons'. It was decided to dispatch a further deputation to Hertzog; if this was unsuccessful a manifesto would be sent to Hertzog and a petition presented to the forthcoming joint sitting of Parliament. Hertzog refused to see the deputation and called the joint sitting at short notice. Hampered by a 'lack of office organization', Rheinallt Jones managed to get a public manifesto signed by over 150 'prominent whites' and 30 'representative' African signatures.[51] The African petition drew 2 500 signatures;[52] but the Speaker ruled that it could not be presented at the Bar of the House. The manifesto was published in the press on the morning of the joint sitting and was denounced later that

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47. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1924-1925, 13; Cj2.1.5, Rheinallt Jones to Buxton, 9 August 1925.

48. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Executive Committee Minutes, 26 January 1926.

49. This work was facilitated by a grant of $300 from the Phelps Stokes Fund and forty pounds from the Johannesburg Committee of the Donald Fraser Campaign. JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926, 2.

50. Ibid., 5.

51. Ibid., 5.

52. This petition has not been located.

day by Hertzog as 'the most infamous document of the last hundred years'.[53]

With the passing of the Colour Bar legislation, attention focussed squarely on Hertzog's four Native Bills.[54] These measures were presaged by an address at the OFS town of Smithfield on 13 November 1925.[55] The Bills were gazetted in July 1926 and were interdependent. Broadly, Hertzog proposed the removal of Africans from the common electoral roll in the Cape Province; a final delineation of the land to be made available under the Natives' Land Act of 1913; the establishment of partly-elective and partly-nominated local 'Native Councils' within the reserves with provision for a similarly chosen 'Union Native Council' and the election on a separate voters' roll of seven white MPs to represent African interests in parliament. In addition, a special status was mooted for Coloureds. Economically, industrially and politically they were to be 'placed on an equal footing with the Europeans'. Socially, Hertzog contended, neither group desired association with the other.[56]

The four Bills were submitted to parliament but the two-thirds majority necessary to pass the Representation Bill was not forthcoming. Thereafter, the Bills were referred to a series of select committees and in early 1929 Hertzog submitted amended forms of the Natives' Representation and Coloured Persons' Rights Bill to parliament. The Representation Bill failed again to secure the necessary majority and both were withdrawn. The Coloured Persons' Rights Bill was shelved indefinitely and the three other Bills were referred to a parliamentary select committee.[57]

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53. JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926.

54. Haines, 'The Opposition', chapters 2 and 3 provide a detailed discussion on extra-parliamentary opposition to Hertzog's Segregation Bills.

55. The Star, 14 November 1925.

56. Ibid.

57. Haines, 'The Opposition', 42-43 and 107-108.

The need to remove Africans from the Cape common role is the key to this legislation. The 1913 Land Act had been declared **ultra vires** in the Cape on the grounds that it infringed the interdependent rights of Africans to vote and to hold land anywhere in the Cape.[58] It was only by altering their political status that Africans in the Cape could be brought under a uniform native policy.[59]

The joint councils' response to the Smithfield proposals was muted and somewhat ambivalent. W. N. Roseveare, secretary of the Pietermaritzburg Council, was cited by **Die Burger**[60] as an admirer of Hertzog's programme. Writing to Rheinallt Jones, Howard Pim counselled moderation in dealing with Hertzog's Smithfield proposals:

> What I fear is that the Government's proposals may differ **toto caelo** from those the P.M. has put forward and that if we make any public statement we may commit members to something which may prejudice our action later on. The position is an extraordinary one. I have never before heard of a P.M. putting forward vital matters of policy on his own responsibility and without ever consulting his colleagues.[61]

Shortly afterwards, Pim circulated a memorandum on the proposals as a basis of discussion for the JJC. Pim was prepared to give qualified approval to the premier's proposals, provided Hertzog's interpretation of segregation was not 'hard and fast',[62] but entailed rather 'the encouragement and development of the natural tendencies keeping Europeans and Natives socially apart'.[63] Pim argued that the franchise proposals demanded a sacrifice only from the Cape African voter. The separate franchise would be a 'clear gain'

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58. On the significance of the ruling see Davenport, **South Africa: A Modern History**, 253-260.

59. The relationship between African land-holding in the Cape, the Cape franchise and the drive for a uniform native policy is discussed at length in Lacey, **Working for Boroko**, 86-94 especially.

60. **Die Burger**, 23 November 1925.

61. JCR, Pim to Rheinallt Jones, 10 December 1925.

62. JCR, Ad2, Note on General Hertzog's Smithfield Proposal, 1925.

63. **Ibid.**, 12.

for Africans in the other provinces. 'Is it in the interest of S.A. as a whole', he asked rhetorically, 'that native influence should become dominant in Parliament? I am convinced that the European population will never agree to this, and it is worth considering whether there is more than mere prejudice in this attitude'.[64]

It was essential, argued Pim, to allay African fears by settling the land question before any political restructuring took place. Likewise, the establishment of a legal colour bar would negate any gain accruing to Africans from the proposed franchise system:

> What heavier handicap can you inflict on any race than to close the avenues by which its able members can advance? How can the native become self-reliant or make his areas attractive when the colour bar will prevent him acquiring the necessary knowledge. ... I believe it will prove a very cancer eating into and destroying the vitals of native life.[65]

With the partial exception of the JJC, we know little about the internal debate within the various joint councils and native welfare societies about the Hertzog Segregation Bills. According to its annual report, the JJC discussed the Smithfield proposals but felt it should await the publication of the Bills before undertaking any definite course of public action.[66] However, certain African members were asked to prepare a memorandum which was circulated in late January 1926.[67] With the publication of the bills, Selope Thema - writing in **Umteteli wa Bantu** - took a fairly circumspect line. While concerned at the threat to the Cape African franchise, he described the bills as offering Africans some scope for political manoeuvre. For instance, the motive behind the Representation Bill

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64. Ibid., 5.

65. Ibid., 11.

66. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1925-1926.

67. No copies of this cocument have been found.

> ... is to make it impossible for our race to influence in any way the party politics of this country, yet it is a principle which may yet establish the nucleus of a purely Bantu Party in this country.[68]

Rheinallt Jones, on tour in the eastern Cape at the time, offered suggestions on how to critique the bills.[69]

The JJC seems to have experienced no real problems in achieving consensus on the Land Bill, with a memorandum on the subject completed in draft form by September. It did, however, experience considerable difficulty in finalizing a memorandum on the franchise bills because of divisions of opinion on the subject. Opening a lengthy discussion of the bills at a meeting on 6 October 1926, O.D. Schreiner, insisted on an uncompromising opposition to the bills. In this he appeared to have the support of the majority of the small number of African members present.[70] In contrast, Rheinallt Jones advised that the principle of separate representation 'be seriously considered by the Council'.[71] One is not sure to what extent this represented a departure from his earlier dismissal of the measures. Was he playing the devil's advocate or had he taken note of a warning from Loram? 'Don't you get associated with the political issues', the latter wrote, 'otherwise we shall not be able to use you as you deserve to be used'.[72]

The outcome of the 1926 government 'Native Conference' held in Pretoria possibly influenced deliberations within the JJC. Conference delegates generally rejected any tampering with the Cape franchise and passed a resolution stating that co-operation with Hertzog on the bills was 'very difficult

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68. **Umteteli wa Bantu**, 12 June 1926.

69. JCR, Ad4, Report Rheinallt Jones, 1926, 19.

70. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 6 October 1926.

71. **Ibid.**

72. JCR, Cj2.1.6, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 22 September 1926.

if not impossible'.[73]

A draft memorandum on the proposals was circulated prior to a special meeting of the JJC executive on 10 November and was apparently aimed at resolving the franchise issue. Saul Solomon - who like Schreiner, had strong personal links with Cape liberal traditions - objected to certain of the wording which, as he saw it, implied that if a suitable substitute for the Cape franchise could be found, the abolition of the franchise might be unobjectionable:

> Even if a tolerable differentiated franchise policy were framed it would fall very short of the present enlightened policy of the Cape Province and I should be opposed to it.[74]

By November 1926 the JJC appeared to have agreed to fight for the retention of the Cape franchise.[75]

The most comprehensive liberal critique of the Hertzog bills[76] was contained in three JJC memoranda.[77] In all three memoranda one finds a refurbished Cape liberal rhetoric. The first two stressed that Hertzog's policies 'were not aimed at the development of the Native to a higher state of civilization', but 'rather to protect the European against such development'.[78] The thrust of the Land Bill was 'to force the progressive Native, and indeed

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73. UG 17/'27, **Minutes of a Conference summoned under Act No 23 of 1920 and held at the Presbyterian Hall, Pretoria, 2-5 November 1926.**

74. Pim Papers, Cc20, S. Solomon to Rheinallt Jones, 8 November 1926.

75. JCR, A. Karney to Rheinallt Jones, 9 November 1926.

76. The joint councils paid little attention to the Coloured Persons' Rights Bill. The official line of the Pretoria and Johannesburg societies, for instance, was that the question of Coloured rights was beyond their scope as Councils were formed of whites and Africans only. JCR, Cp9.6.1, Memorandum on the Prime Minister's Native Bills.

77. JCR, Cj2.7.1, **General Hertzog's Solution of the Native Question: Memorandum 1. Natives Land Act 1913, Amendment Bill 1927** (Johannesburg, n.d.); Cj2.7.2, **General Hertzog's Solution of the Native Question: Memorandum 2. Union Native Council Bill 1927, Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill 1927** (Johannesburg, n.d.); Cj2.7.3, **The Native in Industry: Memorandum 3.**

78. JCR, Cj2.7.1, **General Hertzog's Solution**, 1, 15.

all detribalized Natives, back into tribal conditions'.[79] The released lands were inadequate and little would accrue to Africans because of the provision allowing whites to compete for land alongside Africans. Few Africans possessed the means to buy land in these areas.[80] In fact, the real meaning of the Bill was found in its second chapter which tightened restrictions on Africans living on white farms and which reduced the mass of Africans to a status 'indistinguishable from slaves'.[81]

The two Franchise Bills were dismissed in the second pamphlet on grounds of principle as well as practicality. The disenfranchisement of Africans in the Cape under the Representation Bill would inhibit the development of an African petty bourgeoisie with a vested interest in European civilization. Moreover, it was morally unjust; there existed no precedent under democratic rule for the withdrawal of the franchise from a people who had not only not abused it, but who regarded the privilege as sacred.[82]

The JJC, represented by Pim, Selope Thema and Macmillan, gave evidence to the 1927 Select Committee on the Native Bills. The three also represented the Pietersburg Joint Council and presented a memorandum on behalf of the PJC. In their evidence the representatives took a somewhat more accommodating stance in putting forward a number of constructive suggestions regarding the Land Bill.[83] Its central recommendation was that African squatters and labour tenants be allowed to lease land in white areas. This would not necessarily undermine segregation, rather it would lead to the development of wage labour

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79. Ibid., 8.

80. Ibid., 9.

81. Ibid., 12-15.

82. JCR, Cj2.7.2, General Hertzog's Solution, 2 , 13.

83. For a detailed analysis see Dubow, Racial Segregation, 157.

- sustained by the reserves - and 'progressive native farmers'.[84]

Criticisms of the Native Bills by the Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society were similar to that of the JJC, although there were widely differing pronouncements on the franchise issue.[85] In general the Council supported the retention of the Cape franchise, while some members argued for the extension of the franchise throughout the country and others were prepared to consider a system of separate representation.[86] In a memorandum completed in December 1926 and subsequently submitted to the 1927 Select Committee on the Native Bills, the PJC adopted a relatively uncritical position on Hertzog's native policy. The influence of Edgar Brookes, who still held hopes that Hertzog would adopt the former's more benign form of 'parallel development',[87] is evident.[88] The Council criticized the Land Bill for failing to accommodate 'detribalized' Africans, maintaining that it would be 'entirely opposed' to the second chapter of the Bill unless 'drastic changes' were made to the first.[89] On the franchise issue the Council found no consensus of opinion within its ranks but maintained that:

> To postpone the solution of the so urgent land question, together with all that is inherent, in the interests of the view that there can be only one means of political expression, namely that enjoyed by a certain percentage of Natives in two out of four Provinces, may mean ultimately a handling of both aspects, political and agrarian, which will be less than just.[90]

The PJC felt that the Union Native Council, if invested with some real

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84. **Ibid.**, 157.

85. Compare e.g. the respective evidence of Rev. H. Booth Coventry and Sir Herbert Stanley to the 1927 Select Committee. SC 10-'27, **Report of the Select Committee on the Subject of the Union Native Council Bill, Coloured Persons' Rights Bill, Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill, and Natives Land (Amendment) Bill**, 316-322.

86. Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol I, 235.

87. Brookes, **A South African Pilgrimage**, 23-24.

88. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 2 December 1926.

89. SC 10/27, **Report of Select Committee**, 133.

90. JCR, Cp9.6.1, Memorandum on the Prime Minister's Native Bills.

powers, would facilitate meaningful political and economic advancement for Africans. Also, the principle of separate representation was found acceptable provided an agreeable **quid pro quo** could be found for the loss of the Cape franchise. Among other things this would entail an increase of the number of representatives from seven to nine and granting them the same powers and privileges as other members. Furthermore, it stipulated that those African voters already on the Cape common roll should be allowed to retain the franchise. The DJC adopted a similar line on the Franchise Bill but was less critical on the question of land.[91] Both joint councils stressed that the planned legislation failed to take into account the aspirations of detribalized Africans.

During 1927-1928, the JJC concentrated more on the stiffening of the opposition of the joint councils and other pressure groups and individuals to the proposed abolition of the Cape franchise. Pim and Rheinallt Jones appear to have played major roles in this regard. In May 1927, for example, Rheinallt Jones pointedly informed D.D.T. Jabavu that the JJC was 'adamant' on the Cape franchise, advising him to adopt a similar line in his evidence to the 1927 Select Committee on the Hertzog Bills.[92] March 1928 found Pim in Cape Town exploring the degree of support for the retention of the Cape franchise. Among those he talked to were Sir James Rose Innes, local newspaper editors, Smuts and other South African Party notables. His inquiries seem to have convinced him that it would be unwise to leave the defence of the Cape franchise to this Party.[93] It was thus imperative, he wrote to Rheinallt Jones,

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91. South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Records, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, B 72 (a), Memorandum of Sub-committee appointed by the DJC at its meeting on 17 December 1926 to consider the Native Bills to be introduced in Parliament this session.

92. JCR, Rheinallt Jones to Jabavu, 10 May 1927.

93. SAIRR Records, B 72 (a), Pim to Rheinallt Jones, 21 March 1928.

that the JJC 'carry on active propaganda in support of the Cape franchise'.[94]

This informal campaign by the JJC suffered a temporary setback in mid-1928 when J.T. Henderson, editor of **South African Outlook**, called for a separate roll, with Africans electing their own representatives who might be of any race.[95] This move from the eastern Cape-based journal was viewed by Pim as a serious 'defection'.[96] A spate of correspondence followed in which individual JJC members were prominent.[97] In December 1928 Henderson closed the correspondence declaring that the 'main service' of the original editorial

> ... has been to demonstrate the strength and intensity of feeling and the all but unanimous solidarity of educated Native opinion against the proposals, in so far as they appear to weaken the entrenched position of the Cape franchise.[98]

How spontaneous 'educated Native opinion' was in responding to the **Outlook** proposals is a moot point. There is evidence to suggest that Rheinallt Jones (and perhaps Pim) contacted certain leading Africans and urged them to express their disapproval of the proposals by writing in to the journal.[99] The pressures placed on white liberals by Africans in the joint councils is difficult to adequately assess. The pressures do not appear to be as immediate and intense as one might have expected. Moreover, as has been argued elsewhere, African opposition to the segregation Bills left something to be desired.[100] It should be borne in mind, however, that the Bills constituted a drawn out process which made it difficult to sustain opposition and protest. In a sense

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94. **Ibid.**

95. **South African Outlook**, June 1928.

96. For private letters see Pim Papers, A881/CC 25 and 28, e.g. Pim to Henderson, 17 July 1928 and 1 August 1928.

97. **South African Outlook**, July - December 1928.

98. **Ibid.**, December 1928.

99. SAIRR Records, B 72(a), James A. Calata to Rheinallt Jones, 23 September 1928.

100. Haines, 'The Opposition', in chapters 1 and 2 it is argued that the response of Africans was not as co-ordinated as it could have been.

white liberals had more time at their disposal to organize protest against the proposed legislation.[101]

In any event, by the end of 1928 there was considerably more consensus in joint council ranks on the Cape franchise issue and in mid-1928, if not sooner, Pim and Rheinallt Jones began to actively work towards a separate pressure group aimed at defending the Cape African franchise.[102] Rheinallt Jones seems to have communicated with several prominent Cape Africans, stressing the need for a co-ordinated and concerted effort to ensure a successful defence, but the response was disappointing.[103] More responsive were a number of white liberals including Sir James Rose Innes, Chief Justice of the Union until 1927; Henry Burton K.C. and a Cabinet Minister under the Smuts Government; Rev. H. Booth Coventry, a Presbyterian minister with a Fabian-socialist background and Sir Clarkson Tredgold, a former Supreme Court judge from Southern Rhodesia.[104] Early in 1929 Pim and Rheinallt Jones insisted that the Cape Town group establish an organization as soon as possible, to counter possible exploitation of the 'colour issue' in the forthcoming general election. Following a national press campaign, the Non-Racial Franchise Organization (NRFA) was formally established on 26 April 1929 in Cape Town with a two-fold aim: to publically defend and ultimately extend the Cape franchise system.[105]

The advent of the NRFA did not significantly extend the parameters of white reformist protest. As founder member Booth Coventry remarked: 'Re-

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101. **Ibid.**, 137.

102. See correspondence in SAIRR Records, B 72(b), for details of the origins and formation of the Non-Racial Franchise Association.

103. **Ibid.**, Jabavu to Rheinallt Jones, 19 August 1928.

104. Haines, 'The Opposition', 142.

105. **The Star**, 27 April 1929.

spectability seems to be the craze. We must not offend etc. etc'.[106] The Association's membership was largely white with the Cape Provincial Native Welfare Society's Rev. Mtimkulu one of the few Africans who had any active role within the body. The conservative **Umteteli wa Bantu**, however, went as far as to argue that:

> None can deny the weight of the influence wielded by a body such as this and the African National Congress should hasten to place its organization and conduct under the Association's direction.[107]

With the election approaching, the NRFA published a manifesto which found evidence - one suspects disingenuously - of common ground between the Association and Hertzog's programmes, namely: that 'civilization' should be 'the only possible qualification for the franchise'.[108] A second memorandum followed a fortnight later, criticizing, **inter alia**, Smuts's inconsistency and vagueness on the Cape franchise.[109] The JJC disassociated themselves from this criticism.[110] Smuts felt that the NRFA's support of the extension of the Cape franchise to the north affected his Party's performance in the election.[111]

The development within joint council ranks of a more coherent opposition to Hertzog's segregation policy can be seen in the proceedings of the 'European-Bantu' conferences of 1927 and 1929. The 1927 conference was called by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches with the main objective of discussing the Prime Minister's Bills on the 'native question'.[112] The confer-

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106. SAIRR Records, B 72(f), Coventry to Pim, 29 April 1929.

107. **Umteteli wa Bantu**, 6 July 1929.

108. **The Star**, 18 May 1929.

109. **Cape Times**, 3 June 1929.

110. Haines, 'The Opposition', 144.

111. W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel, **Selections from the Smuts Papers**, vol V (Cambridge, 1966-1973), 409.

112. JCR, Ac4.1, Programme of European-Bantu Conference, Cape Town, 1927; Extracts of proceedings are published in Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol 1, 235.

ence felt the Bills should be dealt with separately and considered the Land Bill the most crucial because of the urgency of the land question. It urged that additional land, at the very least equal in acreage to the areas recommended by the 1917 local committees, be provided for African occupation only. The conference also recommended that as few restrictions as possible be set on the acquisition of land by Africans and that a system of lease-farming be gradually substituted for squatting, labour-tenancy and share farming. The conference proposed that the Union Native Council be more representative of 'progressive natives' and be given more power in initiating discussions.[113]

However, there was not the consensus on the question of segregation as was found in the 1923 gathering, and the conference was split on the issue of separate representation. Howard Pim appears to have upset a number of delegates by declaring that segregation in South Africa was 'quite impossible except under conditions of slavery'. He also stressed that any interference with the Cape franchise would be highly irresponsible.[114] The conference committee responsible for drafting resolutions was unable to draft one on the Representation Bill.[115]

The 1929 European-Bantu conference was held under joint council rather than DRC auspices. Discussion of Hertzog's Segregation Bills (which were undergoing revision at the time) centred on the franchise issue.[116] Loram opposed discussion on this issue, arguing that this would undercut the consensus which the conference had achieved on social and economic matters. The conference voted 39 to 14 to consider the issue and subsequently passed a

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113. JCR, Ac4.2, Resolutions of European-Bantu Conference, 1927; Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol 1, 238.

114. Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol 1, 237.

115. **Ibid.**, 238.

116. JCR, Ac5.4, **Report of the National European-Bantu Conference** (Lovedale, 1929).

resolution deprecating any effort to deprive Africans in the Cape of the franchise.[117]

The protests of the joint councils against the Segregation Bills probably had a particularly direct and substantial impact on the making of liberal social thought. Also important, however, was the work of the larger councils on issues of a broad economic nature. A central concern here was that of wages for urban Africans, especially Africans in industry. In 1927-1928 a series of surveys by joint councils in the larger urban centres[118] confirmed the gross inadequacy of wages paid to urban Africans. These surveys were part of a growing acknowledgement that Africans could no longer be regarded as 'temporary sojourners' in the towns and that more serious attention had to be paid to their role and status in the economic system.[119] The cost-of-living surveys carried out by joint councils had the support of J. Holloway, director of Census and Statistics.[120] Some of these surveys were also used as evidence in joint council representations to the Wage Board. A survey of the families of 100 unskilled African workers carried out by the Bloemfontein Joint Council (BJC) between December 1927 and April 1928, was a direct response to the impending visit of the Wage Board to the city.[121]

During the later 1920s the joint councils developed closer contacts with central government departments and apparatus other than the NAD, particularly the Office of Census and Statistics, the Department of Labour and the Wage Board set up under the 1925 Wage Act. Few of the senior personnel in these

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117. Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol 1, 243-244.

118. Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Durban and Johannesburg.

119. See e.g. M. Atkinson (Palmer's maiden name), 'Note on some Native Budgets Collected in Durban', **South African Journal of Science**, Vol XXV, December 1928, 499-506; Leo Marquard Papers, Jagger Library, UCT, BC587 E22.6, Report by Bloemfontein Joint Council (BJC), 'Cost of Living in a Native Urban Community', reprinted from **The Social and Industrial Review**, July 1928; JCR, JJC, Cj2.7.3, **The Native in Industry**, 1-3.

120. JCR, Cj2.1.8, J. Holloway to Rheinallt Jones, 23 March 1928; Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 2 August 1928.

121. Marquard Papers, BC587 E 22.6, 'Cost of Living in a Native Urban Community'.

bodies were specific appointments by Hertzog. Collectively they represented a relatively technocratic strain in the administration.[122] Also, the notion of the relative autonomy of the civil service, invoking the traditions of the English civil service, was more pronounced than in South Africa today.[123]

During the late 1920s some of the joint councils began to explore possibilities of routing African wage grievances through the Wage Board. The JJC on several occasions urged on the Departments of Native Affairs and Labour 'the view that applications to the Wage Board should be encouraged and acceded to wherever possible'. A precedent had been set in the wake of the 1925 Bloemfontein riots in which an 'experimental inquiry' was held by a Wage Board 'representative of European and Native interests'.[124] The inquiry had been called after JJC representations to the Prime Minister.[125] Specific use of the Wage Board contributed to a growing realization that Africans had to be incorporated more fully into an industrial relations framework. A JJC pamphlet on **The Native in Industry** was an indication of this trend.[126] The pamphlet[127] was

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122. Dubow has demonstrated the growing technocratic ethos within the NAD (**Racial Segregation**, 94). This tendency was perhaps more distinct in the above mentioned departments. The emphasis on national efficiency, exposure to the growing science of industrial relations and a penchant for quantitative social research contributed to this orientation. A number of senior people in these more reformist sections of the state, in particular F.A.W. Lucas of the Wage Board and C.W. Cousins, the Secretary of Labour, appear to have started to think in terms of a national economy in which the economic lives of black and white were entwined. F.A.W. Lucas was one of the members of the 1925 Wage and Economic Commission. In October 1927 Cousins called a conference between the Native Affairs Department and Commission, and his department and the Wage Board to discuss the possibility of bringing African workers under the prevailing industrial legislation.

123. R.J. Haines, 'Capitalizing on the Crisis: The Business of Development' (Development Society of Southern Africa seminar paper, Cape Town, 1987).

124. JCR, Cj2.7.3, **The Native in Industry**, 10.

125. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1924-1925, 9.

126. JCR, Cj2.7.3, **The Native in Industry**, extracts on cover page.

127. The pamphlet was largely the work of Rheinallt Jones, but it was likely that Macmillan and Frankel had a hand in it. During 1928 Frankel was engaged in the research of the specific aspects of the relationship between African welfare and economic productivity. He wrote to Pim at the time that his concerns included 'the question of native urban poverty, and also that of the more efficient use of native labour generally'. Pim Papers, Bi 1, Frankel to Pim, 11 December 1928.

published in early 1929, but had been circulated in draft form to MPs in April 1928 in an effort to persuade them to take a progressive line regarding an amending bill to the Industrial Conciliation Act.[128] The bill was tabled by the Minister of Labour but was later shelved.[129]

Taking its cue from the Wage and Economic Commission, the memorandum stressed that the majority of workers in commercial and industrial undertakings apart from mining were to all intents and purposes permanently urbanized and 'entirely dependent upon wages earned in the towns'.[130] Substantive reform, the report stressed, had to go beyond welfare work among Africans.

> There must be an increase in the real wages of the Native, and this can only be obtained gradually and **pari passu** with the determination of the Native worker's place in the economic system of South Africa.[131]

This statement, with its overtones of the Fabian notion of the 'inevitability of gradualness', makes the ideological point that bargaining for wage increases had to be done within an ordered system. In effect, this was a means of defusing the wage issue by detaching it from populist protest. A crucial step, it was stressed, was to amend the Industrial Conciliation Act to include all 'pass-bearing' Africans under its umbrella, and to ensure the representation of African interests on Industrial Councils and Conciliation Boards by means of unions.[132] This argument was indicative of a changing outlook among white joint councillors regarding the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.[133]

The shifts in joint council attitudes on the subject of the economic

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128. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, March 1928 and 11 April 1928.

129. **Ibid.**, 2 August 1928.

130. JCR, Cj2.7.3, **The Native in Industry**, 1.

131. **Ibid.**, 4.

132. **Ibid.**,15.

133. See PNWA Minute Book, 23 August 1928; JCR, Cp9.3, Annual Report of PNWA, April 1928 - April 1929; JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 2 August 1928, 13 May 1929 and 11 June 1929.

position of urban Africans were paralleled to an extent by the development of a more critical outlook on the conditions prevailing in the reserves and on white farms. A greater scepticism regarding the possibilities of segregationist policies predicated on the reserves was stimulated by Macmillan's research in the mid-1920s.[134] Response to Hertzog's Land Bill was also instrumental in reinforcing this critique. The **Report of the Wage and Economic Commission** provided ammunition for the joint councils as well. The Commission observed that the reserves were, and had long been, largely inadequate for any form of modern agriculture.

> The function of the reserve was to ease the transition, ['from primitive to civilized economic conditions'], a temporary function for, perhaps, a majority of the population, and to provide a shelter for that slowly diminishing minority who cannot or will not be assimilated to the economic system of western civilization.[135]

In a memorandum arguing against Hertzog's land policy, delivered to the 1927 European-Native conference, Rheinallt Jones was more dismissive of the reserve system, which he described as a 'temporary expedient'.[136] Macmillan and Frankel undertook a tour of some of the reserves in 1928 and seem to have formed prescriptions for the economic integration of these areas with the national space economy. Traditional institutions were seen as a large obstacle which had to be abolished if meaningful economic progress were to take place. Mabel Palmer of the DJC appears to have reached similar conclusions.[137] However, the joint councils as a whole did not build on this burgeoning cri-

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134. **The Star**, 4 September 1925; Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 424-426.

135. UG 14-'26, **Report of the Economic and Wage Commission**, 1926, 157.

136. Pim Papers, Fa 14/1, Conference of Europeans and Natives 1927, Rheinallt Jones, 'The Land Question in South Africa'.

137. See chapter 8 on this point.

tique of the reserve system, the work of Macmillan[138] and Frankel[139] notwithstanding. The emphasis in the closing years of the decade fell on projects for the reorganization and promotion of African rural production.[140] Joint council criticisms of the reserve system generally held off from an open attack on the underpinnings of the institution of migrant labour. For instance, a JJC pamphlet, **The Native in Industry**, explicitly excluded the mining industry, the largest employer of migrant labour, from its field of inquiry.[141]

The more prominent role played by economists such as Mabel Palmer and S.H. Frankel in the joint councils, was in part an indication of the growing influence of the economists' science of productive efficiency - a discourse which had been given a boost in reform-minded circles by the Wage and Economic Commission.[142] The JJC memorandum **The Native in Industry** drew substantially on this document,[143] as did S.H. Frankel in his writings of the late 1920s and the early 1930s.[144] Frankel's concerns at the time included 'the question of native urban poverty, and also that of the more efficient use of native labour generally'.[145]

This discourse helped provide an effective riposte to the economic rationale for segregation and reinforced a growing dialogue with the more

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138. W. Macmillan, **Complex South Africa** (London, 1930), 131-143.

139. Frankel and Brookes, 'Problems of Economic Inequality'.

140. See e.g. discussion on agricultural development of 1929 European-Bantu Conference in Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol 1, 239-240.

141. JCR, Cj2.7.3, **Native in the Industry**, 1.

142. This commission was sometimes referred to as the 'Clay Commission' after Henry Clay, a Manchester University economist, who was a key figure on the commission.

143. JCR, Cj2.7.3, **Native in the Industry**.

144. S.H. Frankel, 'The Position of Natives as a factor in the Economic Welfare of the European Population in South Africa', **Journal of the Economic Society of South Africa**, II, 1, 1928.

145. Pim Papers, B 11, Frankel to Pim, 11 December 1928.

progressive sectors of the state. Closer association with certain government departments and agencies, such as the Department of Labour, the Wage Board, and the Census Office, gave the joint council hierarchy - especially on the JJC - some reason to believe that the logistics of running a modern nation state meant that increasingly 'native affairs' would have to be dealt with on a more inclusive and technocratic basis, and not mostly through the NAD.

The question of the right to education was not one which overly troubled the joint councils during this period. Education was placed on the back burners; for instance, it was not among the topics discussed at the 1929 European-Bantu conference.[146] This is surprising considering that the individual joint councils usually had at least one or two African teachers among their complement. Possibly, with the energies of the major joint councils being focussed on the segregationist legislation of the Hertzog administration for most of the second half of the 1920s, the question of revamping African education was postponed.[147] Also, whites often played a disproportional role in shaping the agenda of the councils. From time to time individual councils attempted to ameliorate conditions at certain local African schools through fund-raising activities and so on, but collectively these efforts did not amount to much.[148]

Insofar as a joint council policy line on African education existed, it appears to have been to question the financing of African education - and not too vigorously at that - rather than highlighting the unequal and segregationist structures of the system. This point is illustrated by the joint representations the Pretoria and Johannesburg councils made to the Minister of

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146. JCR, Ac5.4, Report of National European-Bantu Conference, Cape Town, 1929.

147. For a broad outline of educational policies during this time see F. Molteno, 'The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans', in Kallaway, **Apartheid and Education**.

148. See e.g. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 2 February 1928.

Native Affairs in late 1929. Their request was threefold: that the funding of African schooling be improved by increasing the proportion of the General Tax paid to the Natives' Development Account (from which education was financed); that the Minister of Native Affairs personally visit day schools in Pretoria and that a commission be appointed 'to inquire into the whole question of the policy and control of Native education'.[149]

By the end of the decade a more progressive analysis of the institutionalized inequality of African education was emerging from the pronouncements of a few of the liberal intellectuals connected with the joint councils, Edgar Brookes in particular. In 1929 he completed a book entitled **Native Education in South Africa.**[150] It was an implicit challenge to Loram, who in 1929 remained an advocate for a system of state-run 'native education' with a strong vocational underpinning to prepare Africans for insertion into a rural environment. While acknowledging his indebtedness to the Tuskegee tradition of education as exemplified in the figures of Booker T Washington, Aggrey and T. Jesse Jones, Brookes suggested that these educationists had failed to relate African and Anglo-American education to education in general. Differential systems of education were unsuitable not only because they implied inferior facilities for Africans, but also because they ignored the realities of acculturation and the disintegration of traditional African societies. He contended that schools were not really the place for training in agriculture or other 'practical' vocations; this should be left to technical and agricultural colleges. Schools should rather concentrate on providing a general education. He also stressed that the educational advancement of all Africans would be to the advantage of all South Africans. Influenced no doubt by the views of S.H. Frankel, he argued that the existence of a 'civilized' African working

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149. JCR, JJC Minutes, 11 November 1929.

150. E. Brookes, **Native Education in South Africa** (Pretoria, 1930).

class with real spending power was the key to qualitative economic development in the country. Victor Murray, a specialist on education in British colonial Africa, was impressed with the book. He considered Brookes 'to be developing rapidly' and to have 'turned his back on all this "differential development" and segregation nonsense'.[151]

During 1923-1925 a JJC Sub-committee dealt with matters affecting the administration of justice. This included the method of sentencing, the disproportionately heavy fines imposed on Africans, the lack of skilled interpreters and instances of police brutality. Regarding the latter point, they were able to get some assurances from the authorities.[152] The Council also investigated and brought to court a case where a white farmer was suspected of murdering his African employee. Because of insufficient evidence, a conviction was secured on grounds of common assault. This Sub-committee does not appear to have been all that active during 1926-1927. By contrast, the Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society had the treatment of prisoners as one of its main projects throughout the period 1925-1929.[153]

From late 1927 onwards there was a heightened or renewed interest by the joint councils on the question of the administration of justice. The passing of the Native Administration Act, which was not opposed particularly vigorously or systematically by the councils, helped draw their attention to the erosion of civil liberties by a process of what Edgar Brookes termed 'administrative justice', that is 'a growing body of statute law under which decisions which materially affect the rights of individuals are arrived at by ordinary civil service officials'.[154] The PJC, specifically Edgar Brookes and

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151. J.D. Rheinallt Jones Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, V. Murray to Rheinallt Jones, 20 May 1931.

152. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1924-1925.

153. JCR, Cp5.4, Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society Minutes.

154. E.H. Brookes, 'The Administration of Justice' in Brookes, **Coming of Age**, 391.

to a somewhat lesser extent lawyer George Findlay, played a central role in re-affirming and defining issues falling under the rubric of the administration of justice. At the annual general meeting of the Pretoria body Brookes delivered his first major public statement on the matter in the form of a 'burning protest' against 'indiscriminate' police raids on Pretoria locations. He complained of the brutality and arbitrariness of the arrests, the harassment of 'respectable people', 'the use of recruits bearing no number or other means of identification', as well as the dubious legality of the operation. He pointed out that the arrest of a person for non-production of a pass or a poll tax receipt could constitute grounds for that person to sue the police for wrongful arrest.[155]

A Sub-committee of the PJC which was subsequently set up to investigate the ramifications of the raids, made representations to the authorities, but 'very little satisfaction was obtained'.[156] The Council also investigated a Circuit Court trial, the so-called Louis Trichardt case, in which a white man charged with the murder of an African labourer was given a light sentence of common assault by a white jury.[157] This case led directly to a compilation of a series of articles by Brookes and Findlay on the question of the administration of justice, which appeared in the press and as a pamphlet.[158] The PJC enlisted the assistance of its Johannesburg counterpart in its efforts to gain a public inquiry of this case. Ultimately the two joint councils dropped the case, partly because of warnings that they might be judged to be in contempt of court.[159] The JJC dealt with a similar case in the Bethal area and

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155. The Star, 28 March 1928.

156. JCR, Cp9.3, PNWA Annual Report, 1928-1929.

157. Ibid.

158. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 5 July 1928.

159. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 22 November 1928.

again no official inquiry was initiated.[160] Press coverage provoked some degree of public outcry and engendered reports of farmers maltreating their workers in the area.[161] Possibly because of the limited resources of the JJC it does not seem to have investigated these reports. During 1929 and after, the Council concerned itself with the matter of discharged prisoners. In the first place it condemned the practice of giving prospective employers the past records of ex-prisoners and, secondly, the tendency of the state 'to manufacture' criminals by prosecuting for technical offences such as infractions of the pass laws.[162] Apart from the work of the individual councils on the administration of justice, a full session of the 1929 European-Bantu Conference was devoted to this subject.[163]

Meshing with this issue was that of the pass laws, which Brookes and others saw as counter-productive to maintaining social order:

> ... these laws are causing vast expenditure of public money, are congesting the Magistrates' Courts, filling the prisons, demoralizing the police force in its contact with natives, destroying imprisonment as an effective sanction against real native crime, and undermining one of the most valuable and useful Bantu characteristics - respect for law and its agents.[164]

The position of the joint councils was somewhat ambivalent. The Pretoria and Johannesburg councils participated in a conference on the Pass Laws, chaired by Brookes. Other participants were the ICU, the ANC and some members of white trade unions.[165] The conference resolved that the government be urged to abolish the pass laws. Failing this, there should be a Union-wide suspen-

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160. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 13 May 1929, letter from Rev. J.C. Adams concerning cases of alleged assault in Bethal.

161. See e.g. **The Star**, 8 April 1929.

162. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 8 July 1929 and 11 August 1929.

163. See Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol I, 241-243.

164. Brookes, 'The Administration of Justice', 385.

165. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 29 August 1928.

sion for two years or, alternatively, the introduction of a single life identification certificate.[166] At the 1929 European-Bantu conference, however, none of the joint councils present came out in favour of an unequivocal abolition of the pass laws. The general thrust was for the system of passes to be replaced or simplified by a system based on a single identification document or, in the suggestion of the Pietermaritzburg Council, a poll tax receipt.[167] Both the Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg councils urged that such documents could only be demanded by suitably authorized officials.[168]

The councils, specifically the JJC, partly undercut their position on the repeal of passes by seeking the entrenchment and extension of the institutionalized exemption of 'qualified natives', firstly from laws specially affecting Africans and secondly, from the pass laws.[169] The first category of exemption seems to have been targeted directly at the African petty bourgeoisie. The proposed exemption from the pass laws entailed a wider net, one that would catch workers with a long service record.

Concern with the erosion of civil rights heightened in the last months of 1929 with the streamlining of state repression in both the administrative and legislative spheres. The mass police raids on Durban locations in November and the tabling of a Riotous Assemblies Bill - clearly aimed at crippling organized popular protest - epitomized this tightened state coercion, which was personalized by the confrontationist style of Oswald Pirow. Edgar Brookes described the situation in a series of press articles entitled the

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166. **South African Worker**, 19 September 1928.

167. Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol 1, 247.

168. JCR, Ac5.4, Report of National European-Bantu Conference, 1929, printed by Lovedale Press.

169. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 25 November 1929.

'New Despotism'.[170] Howard Pim took more dramatic action. With Ballinger in tow, he took off for Durban - apparently with the blessing of the DJC - to investigate the circumstances of the police raids in Durban. The two drafted a fairly substantial report which in its final form was approved by the JJC.[171]

CONCLUSION

The later 1920s constituted perhaps the most assertive phase of joint council activity, and saw an accompanying shift within liberal ideology during this time: away from overt segregationism to more incorporationist prescriptions and policies. However, white liberals did not envisage a common society; their strategies and tactics were premised largely on a qualified assimilation of an African petty bourgeoisie.

Formulating a response to the segregationist polices and practices of the Hertzog administration stimulated the production of liberal social thought. There was a rediscovery and reaffirmation of the qualified franchise of the Cape, a more vigorous concern with civil liberties as well as a substantive critique of the economic underpinnings of segregation. On the latter point the writings of intellectuals such as Macmillan, Frankel and Rheinallt Jones, among others, were influential. Moreover, the **Report of the Economic and Wage Commission** provided both a reference point for and a confirmation of the growing notion within the joint councils of the interdependence of Africans and whites in the social and political economy of South Africa. Furthermore, white-African interaction within and without the councils, especially in regard to segregationist measures, undoubtedly helped to assess the extent

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170. **Rand Daily Mail**, December 1929.

171. **Star**, 19 November 1929. For a discussion on these raids see E. Roux, **Time Longer than Rope**, second edition (Madison, 1972), 192; Simons and Simons, **Class and Colour in South Africa**, 416-420; F.A. Mouton, 'Swart Verset teen die Durbanse Munisipale Administrasiestelsel, 1929-1930' (M.A. thesis, University of Pretoria, 1985); P. la Hausse, 'The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936' (M.A. thesis, UCT, 1984).

of the contribution. For instance, Selope Thema, both on a personal and intellectual level, helped bring home to Macmillan the interconnectedness of white and African economic and social activity.

The coalescing of liberal thought was embodied in the **Coming of Age**, a collection of essays by a number of liberal intellectuals, the majority of whom were members of joint councils. The book was collectively edited by the contributors and has been seen as an influential expression of the liberalism of the 1930s.[172] It was very much a production of white liberals; there were no African contributors. In an article by R.F. Currey and T.J Haarhoff on 'South African Nationality' it was argued that until 'real national unity between the two European races has been achieved, the question of the extent to which the Native and Coloured peoples are members of the nation must be held over'.[173] Brookes contributed a chapter on the administration of justice which was essentially a restatement of his earlier work on this issue. Schreiner and Ramsbottom, who both had an important part in the drafting of the JJC's response to Hertzog's Native Bills, dealt with the franchise. They took the view that the economic situation of Africans and other blacks was intimately bound up with their inadequate parliamentary representation. They proposed three franchise possibilities: all adults, irrespective of race or qualification; all adults, irrespective of race, who possess certain qualifications; and all white adults, without qualifications, and such black adults who possess certain qualifications.[174] They found the second option morally superior to the others, but considered the time not ripe for its introduction and recommended the third, which, if white fears of being swamped by a black electorate increased, could be amended - that is black franchise qualifica-

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172. A.Paton, **Hofmeyr** (Cape Town, 1964), 164 **et. seq.**; Haines, 'Edgar H. Brookes', 43-54.

173. Brookes, **Coming of Age**, 19.

174. **Ibid.**, 120.

tions would be raised. A qualified franchise for Africans was to remain a central feature in white liberal thought for the next three decades.

Brookes and Frankel co-operated on a study of the 'Problems of Economic Inequality', which refined and popularized somewhat Frankel's research interests of the later 1920s. They heavily criticized the idea that low-paid African labour, whether on the farms or in industry, was necessarily cheap labour, and argued that the only enduring solution for poverty in South Africa was to raise productivity through higher wages and more efficiently organized enterprises. In a separate chapter, entitled 'A National Economic Policy', Frankel laid down the basis for a progressive national economic policy. Influenced by Keynes and the rethinking of industrial policy by the British Liberal Party, Frankel suggested that liberalism in South Africa had to move away from a half-conscious **laissez faire** policy to one which provided for an expanded state. With increased input from civil society, a more reformist state would be created. Such a state could ensure that there was more openness in business practice, and generally intervene in the economy in a more informed fashion, which would boost rather than inhibit economic growth. A piece by Rheinallt Jones on 'The Worker in Industry' argued for the correlation of wage rates throughout industry and other sectors of the economy, ultimately including agriculture, as a means of reducing urban-rural imbalances and keeping more people on the land, as well as being less disruptive of efforts to increase the national dividend in real terms. In regard to the specific issue of African workers, the article largely reiterated the arguments of the JJC pamphlet **The Worker in Industry.**

In general, the liberal thought of the 1930s did not move beyond the parameters set by **Coming of Age.** Moreover, there was not the same degree of consensus as in the closing years of the 1920s. A greater emphasis on rigorous historical and economic analysis by Macmillan, Frankel and others, was central to the making of the new liberalism of the later 1920s. However, by

the early 1930s this 'hard-nosed' liberalism came to be depicted by the white liberal establishment clustered around the newly-formed South African Institute of Race Relations, as too close to historical materialism and neglectful 'of the psychological basis of colour differentiation'.[175] This 'economic school' was institutionally marginalized during the 1930s. Increasingly too, liberal economic discourse was conducted outside the joint councils, and took a more conservative shift in the work of academic economists such as H.M. Robertson, W.H. Hutt and C.S. Richards who effectively allowed the discipline of economics to become more establishment orientated.[176]

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175. Brookes, **The Colour Problems of South Africa**, 128.

176. Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism'. Hutt, for instance, was opposed to the unionization of Africans. Interview with: H.M. Robertson, Cape Town, 12 July 1980.

CHAPTER 6

THE POLITICS OF CO-OPTION AND CONTROL, C.1925-1929

In 1930 Rheinallt Jones, settling down to map out the future course of action for the SAIRR,[1] remarked that:

> I see that 'Enquirer',[2] (whom I suspect to be one of the Mbelles,) charges the joint councils with having destroyed native leadership. There is just enough truth in this to make it a dangerous statement and I do feel, and have felt for some time, that I must give thought and action to this aspect of the joint council movement. I have always said that the joint council must not eliminate bodies like the Congress, and Thema would substantiate my anxiety on this score. It was I who urged the gathering together of the native leaders after the European-Bantu Conference in Cape Town in February 1929. I kept out of the meeting fearing to interfere unduly in a purely native concern, but it was a pity that there was no one there able to rally those men into unity. Nothing came of it.[3]

This situation as depicted by Rheinallt Jones was not simply the 'successful' outcome of a process of co-option by the joint councils. It was rather a commentary on the fortunes of African political organizations at the time. The joint councils had achieved a certain level of respect or influence, partly because most had shown an organizational endurance and an ability to continue functioning at a time when African bodies were subject to increased internal tensions as well as heightened state repression. However, the joint councils had an image problem which they never really overcame during the decade. Indeed, the JJC lost ground among the African political elite over its stance on passes for African women.

The introduction of night passes for African women was the first major test for the JJC under the Pact regime. Passes were a major irritant in the

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1. The establishment and development of the SAIRR will be discussed in chapter 7.

2. 'Enquirer' was a pseudonym used by a columnist who wrote for **Umteteli wa Bantu** from 1928 to the late 1930s.

3. Pim Papers, B1 4/130, Untitled memorandum by Rheinallt Jones on the Joint Councils and the SAIRR, 1930.

lives of Africans[4] but, traditionally, African women were not required to carry them.[5] Mounting official concern regarding the accelerated urbanization of African women in the 1920s,[6] however, resulted in the introduction of night passes for women in 1925.[7] The JJC assumed a central role in liaising with the government on this issue.[8]

In January a large deputation organized by the Council saw Hertzog, who offered to postpone the operation of the Pass Order until May on condition that the JJC provide an alternative scheme.[9] The JJC, spearheaded by Ray Phillips, set about organizing a conference with various African organizations on the issue and canvassing the support of 'representative' Africans, both rural and urban. Phillips saw considerable possibility in almost literally doing the government's policing work. Instead of specific pass controls, he felt that the Urban Areas Act could be put to work to create a less obtrusive but more effective system of control over the movements of African women into and within towns. He envisaged the establishment of orderly 'native villages' and the provision of a network of supervised accommodation (in special hostels and rest houses) and Record Offices (employment registration and housing bureau).[10]

The conference on the women's pass issue comprised two special meetings,

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4. Davenport, **South Africa: A Modern History**, 554-556, provides a useful overview of government control of black movement.

5. B. Hirson, **Yours for the Union: Class and Community Struggles in South Africa** (Johannesburg, 1990), 57.

6. Dubow, **Racial Segregation**, 124.

7. For a comprehensive coverage of the issue of night passes for African women in the 1920s see Eales, 'Patriarchs, Passes and Privilege'.

8. In contrast, the PJC decided in early January 1925 not to associate itself with any public protest of the JJC. It preferred rather 'to write to the Minister of Native Affairs privately asking for the appointment of a Commission to investigate the whole question'. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 7 January 1925.

9. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 28 January 1925; Cj2.3, Annual Report, 1925.

10. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 354; Hertzog Papers, Vol 35, Phillips to Hertzog, 18 January 1925; JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Executive Committee Minutes, 9 February 1925.

14 February and 7 March 1925.[11] The ANC and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) refused to participate,[12] leaving the field to more conservative organizations such as the Native Teachers' Association, the Native Mine Clerks' Association, the Native Ministers' Association and the Bantu Women's League.[13] Even so, the JJC insistence that the movement of African women should be more strictly controlled was seen as too heavy-handed for a number of the African delegates.[14] The proposals were predicated on reinforced parental control. For instance, it was recommended that women be made to secure parental or magisterial permission before being allowed to journey to the towns. The sub-clause of this particular proposal was even more prescriptive: cohabitation without marriage was to be regarded as a criminal offence.[15]

The envisaged control system of the JJC hierarchy failed to secure broad approval among the African petty bourgeoisie because insufficient cognizance was taken of the play of gender relations and class aspirations within this group.[16] Middle-class African women, influenced by Christian and temperance-orientated considerations, had few qualms about beer brewers and prostitutes being expelled from urban areas or brought under control, but objected because the measure was applied to themselves. Many African men, from the petty bourgeoisie and other classes, wanted greater control over their daughters and were anxious that their authority be maintained in their homes. There was, however, a concern among the African elite that the JJC proposals would, in

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11. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 16 March 1925.

12. Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 25; JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1925.

13. **Ibid.**

14. **Rand Daily Mail**, 14 March 1925; JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 16 March 1925.

15. Eales, 'Patriarchs, Passes and Privilege', 121.

16. See **Ibid.** on the essentially conservative nature of gender relations among the African petty bourgeoisie.

the words of one of the delegates,

> ... instil in the minds of our womenfolk the idea that Government officials have more paternal and marital power of control over them than their own fathers and legal and lawful husbands.[17]

Nevertheless, a majority of the African members on the JJC accepted the Council's line. We lack the evidence to determine adequately their reasoning in this regard. Certainly, there was pressure from some of the white hierarchy. For instance, Phillips's chairmanship of the JJC[18] at the time was seen to be distinctly coloured by his support for passes for women.[19] But one should not overlook the calculations of individual African members. For example, Charlotte Maxeke, who continued to play a conservative role in Council matters and supported the JJC proposals, was partly actuated, it seems, by a desire to retain the support of prominent white liberals such as Pim and Ray Phillips for her church and social welfare work in Johannesburg.[20] In a letter to Rheinallt Jones, Champion urged the former not to be impressed by the fact that only a minority of the African members of the JJC opposed the proposals:

> It must be truly remembered [he said] that some of the members of the Council are men who have lost the confidence of their Native followers. To build on their advice seems to me like building on the sand.

He also felt that the pending appointment of Selope Thema as a paid assistant-secretary could be misinterpreted:

> News have [sic] reached me that a man who left the high position of the Native Congress under the pretence that he was medically advised has taken up the similar appointment in the Joint Council because he will be paid for it. Now will the people not be compelled to suggest that the Joint Council has bribed the man?[21]

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17. Cited by Eales, **Ibid.**, 121.

18. Phillips was acting-chairman during Pim's absence.

19. JCR, Cj2.1.5, A.W.G. Champion to Rheinallt Jones, 30 March 1925.

20. Rich, 'Dilemmas', 354.

21. JCR, Cj2.1.5, Champion to Rheinallt Jones, 30 March 1925.

In any event, the JJC hierarchy prevailed and the report of the conference,[22] basically a slightly toned down version of the Council's original proposals, was sent off to Hertzog on 27 April.[23] There was no immediate reply[24] and the night pass ordinance was reintroduced in May with the slight concession that enforcement would only take place after 10.30 p.m.[25] The government finally replied to the JJC submission on 17 June. Significantly it found the JJC's enthusiasm 'for stemming the flowing tide'[26] too effective for its liking, and based on a misapprehension of the government's position. The government was not prepared to apply a general pass law to African women.[27] Later in the year, after a test case, the original night pass ordinance was found to be inapplicable to women.

The JJC's stance on the night pass issue should not be taken as representative of liberal opinion as a whole. The Cape Provincial Native Welfare Society, for instance, wired the JJC just before the final sitting of the joint conference, expressing their unqualified opposition to the introduction of night passes for women. 'I loathe the pass system', replied an affronted Rheinallt Jones,

> and I have just drafted a covering letter to the PM in which we express our detestation of the system, but is that enough? Public opinion strongly supports the Night Passes and we would get short thrift if we offered no alternatives. [28]

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22. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1925, appendix.

23. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 10 June 1925. JJC chairman Howard Pim, without consulting the Council, sent his own set of proposals in to the Minister of Native Affairs. See also, JCR, Cj2.1.5, Herbst to Rheinallt Jones, 15 June 1925.

24. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 10 June 1925.

25. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1925.

26. JCR, Rheinallt Jones to W.A. Russell, 29 April 1925.

27. See letter in JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1925, appendix A.

28. JCR, Rheinallt Jones to W.A. Russell, 29 April 1925.

The JJC's stance on the night passes further strained the relationship between it and the TAC.[29] And at the 1925 annual conference of the ANC, the joint councils - and more specifically the JJC - came under heavy criticism from the delegates present.[30] It was only at the end of the decade that there were signs of a slight thawing in relations between the joint council movement and the TAC[31] - a reflection possibly of the joint councils' relatively vigorous opposition to the Native Bills.[32] Nevertheless the TAC elite remained wary of the joint councils. It is perhaps worth noting that despite criticism for their 'defection' to the joint council,[33] both Thema and Msimang retained their ANC membership.

There is little data on the relationship between the joint councils and the ANC establishment in the larger centres in the other provinces, but on the whole it does not seem to have been as defined or tense as in the Transvaal. T.M. Mapikela, the head of the OFS Congress was a leading member of the BJC in the later 1920s and after, and John Dube, the head of the Natal section of Congress, was a senior member of the Durban Joint Council. In Cradock, an eastern Cape town, James Calata, a prominent Congress figure in the region, helped to initiate a Joint Council in 1928. Walter Rubusana, a Congress notable, was a member of the East London Native Welfare Association in the 1920s and early 1930s. Frank Pendla, who was growing in prominence in Congress circles in the eastern Cape, was an active member of the Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society. The Cape Provincial Native Welfare Society also had links

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29. JCR, Cj 2.1.5, Champion to Rheinallt Jones, 30 March 1925; Selope Thema to Rheinallt Jones, 22 July 1925.

30. Eales, 'Patriarchs, Passes and Privilege', 122.

31. E.g. in 1929 the Pretoria and Johannesburg Joint Councils joined with the ICU and ANC in a deputation to the Minister of Native Affairs on the Pass Laws.

32. Walshe suggests that the persistent and principled criticism of Hertzog's policies by the councils reinforced ANC support for them. Walshe, **The Rise of African Nationalism**, 189. However, it would appear that the ANC was less forthcoming in its response to the councils than Walshe realizes.

33. **Umteteli wa Bantu**, 13 October 1928.

with some local Congress officials, particularly Stephen Oliphant, but it should be appreciated that the Western Cape Congress was not all that coherent a body. The remarks of veteran social critic and writer, Sol Plaatje, on the state of affairs among Congress officials in the Cape Peninsula are quite damning:

> Some of them swear by Thaele while others claim allegiance to Mahabane or to Ngojo; others belong to the Provincial and not to the National Congress. Apart from dances their chief activities centre round their own squabbles while the Native population may go to the dogs for all they care.[34]

During the later 1920s the JJC failed to seize opportunities to extend and develop its African constituency. In particular, it sought to gain influence through the promotion of social activities and campaigns against segregationist legislation, and paid relatively little heed of the political capital to be made of ventures to strengthen the economic base of the urban African petty bourgeoisie. Although aware of the 'necessity' of consulting African political elites, action took place on the level of rhetoric rather than that of practice. For instance, in early 1925, Selby Msimang raised with the white JJC hierarchy 'the necessity of getting into closer touch with the Bantu peoples' through practical economic assistance in order to foster a 'spirit of self-help'.

> It seems to me that the sound political ideas held by the Joint Council should gradually be translated into practice. The question of 'Native Women in Towns' calls for something more than putting forward suggestions. Where the Government fails we should be able to show in a practical way that our proposals can be brought within the realm of practical things. ... Unfortunately we have to deal with a population which is economically poor. But if financial assistance can be had which could be used as a nucleus for creating widespread interest, the response of our people can be assured. The Joint Council can provide a strong finance committee and out of its native members appoint organizing agents.[35]

No documented response to Msimang's scheme exists. It is likely that

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34. S.Plaatje, 'Under the Colour Bar', **Umteteli wa Bantu**, 19 June 1926.

35. JCR, S. Msimang to Rheinallt Jones, 27 February 1925.

Msimang was informed that the JJC did not have the financial resources for such a project. The outreach campaign that Rheinallt Jones and Ray Phillips decided to embark on at this time - through the appointment of Thema as the paid organizer of social activities in the Reef townships - differed significantly in its emphasis: it embodied an explicit and prescriptive Christian component whereas Msimang's scheme was essentially secular in nature.[36]

The growth of the ICU in the mid-1920s presented the joint councils with a new challenge.[37] The ICU tended to attract a younger and more assertive generation of activists, especially at the lower organizational rungs. Many came from lower middle-class backgrounds and had been harder hit by the shrinking economic opportunities available to Africans in the towns. Not surprisingly, the Union was generally more politically militant than the ANC and thus further removed from the orbit of the joint councils. Yet, by the late 1920s some of the councils had drawn closer to the ICU. The extent to which this entailed a process of conscious co-option on the part of the councils, spearheaded by the JJC, is a matter of debate. Joint council intervention in ICU affairs was more than a question of strategic planning; there was also an element of default.

A disinclination by the joint councils to make a concerted effort to involve themselves in ICU activities and to attempt to steer the organization on a more reformist course was a source of frustration for English novelist Winifred Holtby, Mabel Palmer (a leading member of the DJC by late 1927) and Johannesburg writer Ethelreda Lewis, the latter especially. It was through

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36. See below.

37. During the first half of the 1920s the ICU had an urban bias, but during 1926-1927 there was a dramatic expansion in the countryside, where the organization took the form of a rural protest movement. However, by early 1928 organizational and other tensions within ICU were becoming increasingly difficult to contain. By the early 1930s all that remained of the organization were a number of small splinter groups. On the history of the ICU see e.g. P.L. Wickens, **The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa** (Cape Town, 1978); and Bradford, **A Taste of Freedom**.

the efforts of this informal triumvirate that Clements Kadalie turned to British trade unionists and social democrats for assistance in late 1926 and in 1927. Writing in the **New Statesman** in 1927, Mabel Palmer remarked:

> With every temptation to ignorant and violent action, its leaders are taking up a most statesmanlike attitude, avoiding the snares of both Bolshevism and Garveyism ... The ICU has applied to be allowed to nominate a member of each Joint Native Council but has been refused.[38]

The expulsion of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) members from the ICU ranks,[39] coupled with tightening of state repression as reflected by the 1927 Natives' Administration Act (described in ICU circles as 'Kadalie's Act'), led to increased contact with the white hierarchy in the joint councils. Certain of the joint council establishment, Rheinallt Jones in particular, had begun exploring ways of regulating industrial class struggles by populist movements such as the ICU by incorporating African workers into a 'constitutional' system of industrial relations which would facilitate the development of an inclusive and constitutional mode of trade union organization.[40] A rethinking of the relationship between the ICU and the joint councils did not only emanate from the Rand. In 1927 the Pietermaritzburg Native Welfare Society began pushing the JJC to give more direction to the joint councils with regard to the improvement of relations with the ICU.[41]

In August 1927 Selope Thema approached members of the ICU executive to invite them to attend a meeting of the JJC, but this was turned down as Kada-

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38. Mabel Palmer Papers, Killie Campbell Library, University of Natal, Durban, Letters and Articles on the Bantu of South Africa, 8, extract from piece for **New Statesman**, 1927.

39. This probably had some connection with the exhortations of Holtby, Lewis and Palmer that the Union take a more 'moderate' political line and become more of an orthodox trade union.

40. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, 'The Worker in Industry' in Brookes, **Coming of Age**. JCR, Cj2.1.8, Rheinallt Jones to W.S. Kekane, 13 February 1928; JJC, **The Native in Industry**.

41. See e.g. JCR, circular letter from Rheinallt Jones on 'Native Industrial Conditions and the ICU', 13 October 1927.

lie was overseas and unable to give his approval.[42] Thema was assured, however, that their intentions were conciliatory, not confrontationist; the rhetoric of 'racial enmity' was that of 'irresponsible officials in the countryside'. Msimang, Rev. Sivetye and Macmillan - all members of the JJC executive - came out in favour of formal institutional links with the ICU.[43] In October the Council agreed to co-operate with the ICU in representations to the Wage Board regarding African wages.[44] In early 1928 the ICU and JJC liaised with the BJC in preparing material for a Wage Board investigation into the conditions of unskilled workers in Bloemfontein.[45]

Nevertheless, Ethelreda Lewis felt that the JJC's relationship with the ICU was still tenuous, and that there was little willingness among the Council's male establishment to extend its constituency to include working class Africans, ICU members in particular:

> I have friends on the Joint Council whom I have begged to work with me or instead of me at this unrivalled moment of opportunity. But they fear to be proved wrong, or the dupes of scheming natives.[46]

She complained that

> ... all who wish to help natives do so by the slow process of sympathizing only with the naturally good and quiet natives, such as belong to the Bantu Social Centre. They fail to see that where help and a faithful presence is most vitally needed is not in the nursery but in the street with those of no reputation, natives who are constantly being talked over by the well-organized Communists here.[47]

Although F.S. Livie Noble and Edgar Brookes, both of the Pretoria Joint Coun-

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42. It may have been on this occasion that C. Kadalie declared himself 'reluctant to endorse' ICU officials meeting JJC members in the BMSC. Ballinger Family Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits. C2.3.7. File 1, Fragment of letter from Kadalie, approximately mid-1927.

43. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 4 August 1927.

44. **Ibid.**, 6 October 1927.

45. Marquard Papers, BC 587, E22.6, Report by BJC, 'Cost of Living in a Native Urban Community'. See chapter 5.

46. Ballinger Family Papers, C2.3.7, File 7, E. Lewis to F.P. Keppel and J. Bertram, 8 August 1928.

47. **Ibid.**, E. Lewis to Bishop of Zoutpansberg, 20 May 1928.

cil, gave some assistance in this regard, she envisaged two or three 'young social workers' - preferably from England - to 'keep a tight hold on the ICU and its affairs'.[48] However, in England Holtby and the small informal group of humanitarians and trade unionists who had developed an interest in the ICU, thought that an experienced trade unionist would be a better proposition. The National Council of the ICU went along with this view, but finding such a person was not easy and William Ballinger[49] - a young Scotsman with relatively limited trade union experience - was subsequently dispatched to South Africa.

Meanwhile, Lewis, and to a certain extent, Palmer, kept in touch with Kadalie. In June 1928 Lewis reported that Kadalie's relationship with the JJC had 'improved very greatly' and that he was often seeking out Pim for 'help and advice'.[50] It would appear that Pim's new-found interest in the ICU was partly personal, stimulated by his appointment as administrator of the fund out of which the ICU's promised adviser, William Ballinger, would be paid. Some JJC members seemed to have had reservations about dealings with the ICU; an invitation from the Union to a welcoming reception for Ballinger was only agreed to 'after considerable discussion'.[51]

The arrival of Ballinger effectively drew the two organizations closer together. In his efforts to turn the ICU into a 'respectable and moderate trade union',[52] Ballinger found a number of apparently willing white JJC members, as well as Edgar Brookes and George Findlay of the PNWA. Rev. E. Grant helped in the running of ICU night school classes with Rheinallt Jones undertaking to provide University of the Witwatersrand tutors for a course on

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48. Winifred Holtby Papers, Hull Central Library, Lewis to W. Holtby, 12 December 1927.

49. See Appendix A for biographical details.

50. Ballinger Family Papers, C2.3.7, File 2, Lewis to Lord Oliver, 20 June 1928.

51. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 5 July 1928. The reasons for this hesitancy are not stipulated in the minutes.

52. S. Jonns, 'Trade Union: Political Pressure Group or Mass Movement? The Industrial Commercial Workers' Union of Africa' in R. Roberg and A. Mazrui (eds), **Protest and Power in Black Africa** (New York, 1970), 739.

industrial history. Ray Phillips included the ICU hall in his expanding film circuit, and Pim was 'a tower of strength'.[53] In turn, Ballinger gave lectures at the BMSC[54] and in November 1928 became a member of the JJC.[55]

It is difficult to gauge how co-ordinated and collectively aware this help from joint council members was, given the relative lack of documentation. One gains the impression, however, that direct joint council intervention in ICU matters tapered off during 1929 as the Union's organizational and fiscal crises deepened. Financial problems dogged Ballinger from the start; Lewis was horrified when the former toyed with the possibility of illegal diamond buying in September 1928 to provide a financial injection for the ICU.[56] With Kadalie setting up a rival Independent ICU in April 1929, there was not all that much of an organization left for the joint councils to influence or co-opt. Also, Rheinallt Jones's attention was shifting to the creation of the South African Institute of Race Relations and with negotiations for funds with American philanthropic agencies not fully finalized, he may well have downgraded his interest in efforts to restructure African trade unionism. Loram does not appear to have shown much enthusiasm for the ICU - tame or otherwise. In early 1928 he opposed Ethelreda Lewis's application for Carnegie funds for work among ICU members:

> I think it only fair to you to say to you that as far as lies in my power, I shall keep the Carnegie Corporation as far off the ICU as it exists at present as I can. I have before me reports of speeches made by ICU leaders and it would be treachery to the Carnegie Corporation to allow them to be connected with a body which can utter such sentiments.[57]

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53. Ballinger Family Papers, C2.3.7, File 3, Ballinger to Holtby, 14 August 1928.

54. Ibid.

55. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 12 November 1928.

56. Ballinger Family Papers, C2.3.7, File 3, Lewis to Ballinger, 25 September 1928.

57. Ibid., C2.3.7, File 2, Loram to Lewis, 8 February 1928.

Referring particularly to the Transvaal, Helen Bradford finds that the liberal influence on the ICU was 'profoundly destructive' in that it 'helped to depoliticize leaders' and undermined the militancy of struggles, especially in the countryside.[58] The data on which such a conclusion is based is more inconclusive and less coherent than she implies. Consequently, Bradford tends towards a somewhat reductionist view of liberal agency. She also appears to underestimate the 'relative knowledgeability' of establishment ICU leaders such as Kadalie. For instance, the urgings of Ethelreda Lewis no doubt influenced Kadalie in his decision to get rid of the CPSA members in the Union in late 1926, but it should be borne in mind - as Bradford herself points out - that Kadalie felt threatened by the plans of this group to clean up and secure more democratic control of the organization.[59] Bradford is correct in stressing the relationship between Ballinger's choice of 'moderate' tactics for the ICU and his contact with JJC liberals and subsequent introduction, via Pim, to certain figures in the Rand business establishment. However, one should not forget that Ballinger had limited options. The Union was in a downward spiral of decline during 1928 and he had a constituency in England that he was answerable to, albeit a gradualist social democratic one. Moreover, Ballinger's presence on the JJC strengthened the body's more progressive wing, had a (mildly) radicalizing effect on Pim[60] and created tension within the Council executive. Following Pim and Ballinger's unauthorized trip to Durban to investigate the 1929 riots in Durban, a special meeting was held. As Lewis wrote Holtby:

> Hoernle, Rheinallt Jones and Ballenden [head of the Johannesburg Municipality's Native Affairs Department] were furious with his [Pim's] championship of Ballinger ... Jones, after sitting miserably on the

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58. Bradford, A Taste of Freedom, 184.

59. Ibid., 13-15.

60. Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) Records, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, A 924, File 2, Lewis to Holtby, 4 December 1929.

> fence for some weeks, had come down on the safe side and joins Dr. Loram in his disapproval of Ballinger, Pim and me. And you.[61]

It is important too, to consider the dynamics of the relationship between the ICU and the joint councils in some other centres. Rheinallt Jones had this to say after attending a meeting of the Durban ICU branch in 1926:

> The Secretary in Durban is Mr Champion ... At the meeting of the Durban Joint Council ... I had pleaded that his application for membership should be granted, despite the antipathy created among the Europeans by the loud talk of the ICU organizers. I had found Champion pathetically lonely and secretly anxious to be helped by Europeans. I believe men of this kind are better in the Joint Council than outside. Champion had about 600 Native men and women in his 'Workers' Hall' .... I spoke on the value of co-operation between Europeans and Natives, and the work of the Joint Council and was given a most attentive hearing .... The isolation of men like Champion from the moderating influence of responsible and sympathetic Europeans, results in the development of extreme views and methods. Joint Councils should make sure that they are in touch with activities of bodies like the ICU which should and could be helpful in improving the labour conditions of the Native people, if only they were guided by wise and experienced Europeans.[62]

The advice went unheeded. In a letter a few months later to Senior Magistrate, H.H. Piers, Champion complained of not being allowed a hearing at the DJC to answer Piers's very personal attacks on him at two meetings of the Council.[63] Despite the efforts of Mabel Palmer during 1927-1930, the DJC refused to consider Champion for membership.[64] This may have had something to do with the political rivalry that existed between Champion and John Dube (the Natal ANC leader and an established member of the DJC). Also, despite the fact that he had been a member of the JJC during the first half of the decade, he was deemed not sufficiently respectable for the white hierarchy on the DJC.[65]

In the wake of ICU-linked rural struggles in the Natal midlands, Palmer

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61. Ibid., File 2, Lewis to Holtby, 4 December 1929.

62. JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926, 22.

63. A.W.G. Champion Papers, Jagger Library, UCT, A1.236, Champion to Piers, 10 December 1926.

64. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 4 August 1927.

65. This issue is discussed in chapter 8.

managed to swing the DJC executive in March 1928 to a position of support of 'the moderate elements in the ICU ... by recognizing it in so far as it carried out the legitimate work of a native trade union'. It was agreed to arrange a meeting with Kadalie if possible. Palmer's case was strengthened by the arguments of an African member 'of the mission type', previously hostile to the ICU, who stressed that Kadalie had become more moderate.[66] There is no documented record of the DJC executive having met Kadalie. The secession of the Natal section of the ICU under Champion later in the year possibly distracted the intentions of the DJC in this regard.

The Pietermaritzburg Native Welfare Society was more prepared to deal with their local ICU representatives than their Durban counterpart. But establishing links was not easy. As the Society's secretary W.N.Roseveare commented, 'our own [African] men are mainly "educated" and have little knowledge of the ICU men'.[67]

In the Orange Free State the Kroonstad Joint Council (KJC) was formed in the second half of 1928, partly through the efforts of local ICU leaders such as Keable Mote and Robert Sello.[68] This move came as the ICU in the province was beginning to fragment, obliging the hierarchy to cast around for alternatives.[69] We know precious little about the BJC's dealings with the ICU apart from the fact that it helped the latter prepare for a Wage Board submission in 1928.[70]

Some of the more senior ICU officials in the eastern Cape had ties with local joint councils. A.M. Jabavu, the Senior Vice-President of the ICU and

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66. Holtby Papers, Palmer to A. Creech Jones, 7 March 1928.

67. JCR, Roseveare to Rheinallt Jones, 14 June 1927.

68. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Minutes, 7 June 1928. See also discussion on the Kroonstad Joint Council (KJC) in chapter 8.

69. P. Rich, 'Managing Black Leadership', 181.

70. Marquard Papers, BC 587 E22.6, Report by BJC, 'Cost of Living in a Native Community'.

brother of D.D.T. Jabavu, supported the formation of joint councils in general, and helped with the establishment of the Kingwilliamstown Native Welfare Association in 1926.[71] J.M. Dippa, the Provincial Secretary for the Cape Province in the early and mid-1920s was, a leading member of the Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society from its inception in 1924. The ICU was beginning to decline in this region by 1926, and does not appear to have been perceived as much a potential threat as in the northern provinces. There was little in the way of deliberate intervention in the ICU. The ICU leadership in the region was, as Bradford suggests, very much a part of the African petty bourgeoisie establishment and particularly prone to opportunist politics and practices.[72] Their participation in these apparently diverse bodies does not appear to have been problematical to them.

It can be seen from the above discussion that the relationship between the joint councils and the ICU was not simply one of co-option. Though the joint councils did entertain a strategy of guiding the ICU into the less troubled waters of constitutional trade unionism, in practice their interventions were often of an ad hoc nature. There is no evidence to suggest that the joint council hierarchy gave systematic thought to the development of means for incorporating African political elites and groupings in the joint councils. Indeed, even within the joint councils there were real problems of communication between the white and African members. This is highlighted in Z.K. Matthews's autobiography:

> One of the reasons I have for remembering these [DJC] meetings is the fact that we Africans had great difficulty in finding a place to sleep in Durban. None of the white friends with whom we met ever asked themselves or us where we were going to spend the night... Many a night as we lay with only our overcoats for a covering, Rosebury [Bokwe, then a teacher at Ohlange] and I used to make jokes about going to a meeting to

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71. JCR, Cj2.1.6, A.M. Jabavu to Rheinallt Jones, 1 June 1926.

72. Bradford, A Taste of Freedom, 11-12.

discuss government policy and having no-where to sleep for the night.[73] This problem did not go unnoticed. In 1926 Rheinallt Jones showed concern regarding the 'significant silence of the Native members on the joint councils ... which must be overcome'.[74] The situation was persistent. Two years later Rheinallt Jones wrote on the same problem:

> I have been to meetings of joint councils where the European members did all the talking; the native 'members' sitting silent and sullen at the end of the room. More than once I have discovered that a stolid outward appearance hid a fierce resentment against some real or imagined grievance. The best joint councils are those in which all the members respect each other and are able to discuss all matters with freedom and mutual confidence.[75]

While the JJC African members appear to have been relatively vocal, on a number of occasions their turnout for meetings was poor. Though transport difficulties was cited as a major reason[76], one suspects that the poor attendance of meetings was also an expression of a lack of interest in the proceedings of the Council.[77]

The joint councils were perhaps more 'effective' in confirming or reinforcing class divisions among Africans. For one, the joint councils continued to find their black membership among educated Africans; it was only in the 1930s that some attention was given to the possibility of attracting semi- or non-literate Africans as members. Also, crudely speaking, the joint councils constructed means for the African petty bourgeoisie (aspirant or actual) to gain entry into the dominant class. This they did in part through the retrieval of Cape liberal notions of civic and economic advancement for 'civilized' Africans and their incorporation in the making of new liberal

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73. Matthews, **Freedom for My People**, 88.

74. JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926.

75. **Ibid.**, Aa3.1, The Joint Council Movement: What it is and How it works, 1928.

76. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 8 April 1929; Cj2.3, Annual Report, 1926.

77. In the early 1930s poor attendance was seen as an indication of a malaise within the JJC.

social thought during the later 1920s and after. The broad idea of 'equal rights for all civilized men' had long been currency within the ANC, but its advocacy and elaboration by agencies apparently closer to the dominant classes, may well have made the joint councils the more attractive vehicles for some of the African political elite to pursue their petty bourgeois demands. It is interesting to note that Selby Msimang, writing in 1928, did not hold out much hope for the ANC as a vehicle for the realization of the political and economic demands of Africans.[78]

Education, especially in the sense of the inculcation of 'Western' values, was central to the notion of civilization held by white joint councillors, and found a resonance among the African petty bourgeoisie who placed a high premium on the importance of education.[79] E. O. Wright has argued that the ownership of exploitable skill assets, especially when institutionalized in the form of credentials, constitutes a basis for a dimension of class relationships.[80] Extrapolating from Wright's thesis, it could be said that in a situation where the accumulation of capital and property was highly constricted, the possession of a higher education qualification was a means of denoting petty bourgeois status and held out the possibility of participating on more equal terms in the political and economic life of South Africa.

In other ways the joint councils also underpinned the category of the 'civilized-educated' African. This was particularly so in efforts by the Transvaal and Natal bodies to persuade the authorities to be more tolerant in the issuing of certificates of exemption; in other words, to expand the class of exempted Africans. The joint councils appeared to have had a dis-

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78. **Umteteli wa Bantu**, 21 July 1928.

79. Margery Perham's remarks on an address by D.D.T. Jabavu to a black audience in Johannesburg in late 1929 are illuminating in this respect: 'The natives who worship academic qualifications, seem to regard him almost as a god.' M. Perham, **African Apprenticeship** (London, 1974), 132.

80. E.O. Wright, 'A General Framework for the Analysis of Class Structure', **Politics and Society**, XIII, 4, 1984.

tinct edge over African political organizations in securing exemption certificates in individual cases.

While there appears to have been a sounder perception within the joint councils of the meaning of certain bourgeois freedoms by the end of the decade, the process was uneven and the resultant liberal vision had substantial blind spots. This selective myopia was evident in the question of home-brewing of beer. Here notions of freedom of economic activity were obscured by efforts at moral prescription. In most of the joint councils there was a strong body of opinion, mostly white, which favoured curbing - or even prohibiting - liquor consumption in the townships. The PJC strongly favoured the latter policy and tried to persuade white temperance movements to 'address meetings of Natives in the locations'. The PJC also pressed for 'more stringent police supervision' to restrict sales of yeast for home-brewing.[81] In a JJC memorandum on the question of the municipalization of indigenous beer, a clause suggesting the prohibition of liquor consumption in the townships was withdrawn when presented for discussion before the full council.[82] In representations to the state and municipal authorities[83] the joint councils tended to gloss over the point, made implicitly or explicitly by African members, that domestic brewing was a crucial form of income generation,[84] often with the purpose of making ends meet.[85]

In their response to the Liquor Bill during 1925-1928 the joint councils

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81. JCR, Cp9.3, PJC Annual Report 1926.

82. JCR, Cj2.6.42, Natives and Liquor, n.d.; Cj2.4. JJC Minutes 6 September 1928.

83. SAIRR Records, B 67.6.1, Outline of evidence on the Liquor Bill, 1926. Societies giving evidence included PJC, DJC, JJC, ELNWA, GNWA, Cape Provincial, Queenstown and Pietermaritzburg Native Welfare Associations.

84. JCR, Cj2.1.6(c), Rheinallt Jones to J.W. Pollard, chairman or secretary of the Queenstown Joint Council, 15 October 1926: 'I am distressed to find that the native members of your Joint Council are devoting their attention to the Kaffir beer question rather than to the much more urgent questions of the Native Bills'.

85. P. du Plooy, 'Beer and Native Administration: An Introductory Study of the Beer Hall System in Pietermaritzburg, 1908-1937' (B.A. Hons. Essay, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1987), 57.

opposed the proposal that government-controlled ventures be established to make and sell indigenous beer.[86] The main line of argument was that this would exacerbate problems of excessive liquor consumption in the townships. This argument was also deployed in representations against proposals that the Durban system of municipal control of beer production and consumption be adopted by other city councils. There was some equivocation in the joint council response to proposals for the municipalization of beer, specifically from the JJC. There was decided division in the ranks for a number of years before the Council eventually declared itself against the proposal in 1928.[87] The vast majority of African members were against municipalization (though not all favoured the continuation of home-brewing), while a number of white members took the position that municipal beer ventures would be a better option than state-run schemes.

In contrast the interventions of the joint councils in regard to health became markedly more extensive during the later 1920s.[88] There was a humanitarian concern with the appalling health conditions in most of the townships.[89] Interest in health was stimulated by the publication in 1928 of a government investigation into African health.[90] 'Native Medical Needs' became a more substantive category and constituted one of the sessions at the 1929 European-Bantu conference. It was not merely the production of white reformists: A.B. Xuma who joined the JJC in late 1928, became a vocal pro-

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86. See e.g. JCR, Cp9.4, Report of sub-committee on the Roos Liquor Bill, PNWS Minute Book, 1919-1931, 170; Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 27 April 1926; Cp5.4.1, Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society, Executive Committee Minutes, 27 April 1926; GJCR, GNWA Minute Book, 14 September 1926, summary of resolutions passed in the 1920s - objection to Liquor Bill, n.d. c.1930.

87. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 6 September 1928.

88. E.g. the Cradock Joint Council began as a non-European Health Society in 1929 and concentrated on this aspect. See discussion below.

89. Macmillan, **Complex South Africa**, 38-39; JCR, Cj2.7.3, **The Native in Industry**.

90. UG 35-'28, **Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Training of Natives in Medicine and Public Health**.

tagonist for improved medical infrastructure, training and policies for Africans.[91] Health was also the terrain for certain African petty bourgeois demands.[92]

On a fairly abstract level, joint council activities in respect of health and related social welfare concerns were generally in the direction of the cultural reinforcement of the institution of the nuclear family. Their interventions formed part of a broad process observable in the development of other capitalist and peripheral capitalist societies - a process Foucault has termed 'the privilege of the child and the medicalization of the family'.[93] An important concern of the JJC in the health field was to secure a special wing for African children after initial attempts to establish a ward at the 'white' children's hospital proved fruitless.[94] Due to the heavy infant mortality in Reef townships, the Health Committee of the JJC recommended in 1925 that the Council 'undertake the work of popularizing the Non-European Hospital among native women to send their children to before it was too late.'[95]

Among the other joint councils and native welfare associations which paid a great deal of attention to child health care was the Cradock Joint Council. This Joint Council, established in late 1928, started life as a 'non-European Health Society'.[96] This in turn was the product of the efforts of Mrs D.D.T. Jabavu who had aroused much enthusiasm in health matters,

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91. See e.g. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 12 November 1928, 10 December 1928, 11 March 1929, 8 April 1929 and 13 May 1929.

92. E.g. JCR, Cb5.4.1, BJC Minutes, 1 August 1928: 'Mr Moikangoa distributed copies of the **Health Magazine** and urged members to became subscribers'.

93. Foucault, **Power/Knowledge**, 172.

94. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 22 April 1925.

95. **Ibid.**, 17 August 1925.

96. JCR, Cc5.1, Rheinallt Jones to M. Butler, 5 December 1928 and M. Butler to Rheinallt Jones, 8 December 1928. Mary Butler, a nursing sister, played a key role in the establishment of this Joint Council. See J. Butler, 'Interwar Liberalism and Local Activism'.

especially regarding child welfare, during a visit to the local Women's Civic Association.[97] Links were also made with white philanthropic bodies involved in child welfare. The chairman of the Grahamstown Native Welfare Association (GNWA) in 1926 also headed the local child welfare society.[98] In 1928 the JJC decided to co-operate with child welfare societies on the Rand in pressing for the continuance of maintenance grants for committed children, particularly for African children.[99]

An important concern was to secure and extend the training of African nurses. Debbie Gaitskell has pointed out how nursing was becoming entrenched as a sex-specific and prestigious petty bourgeois occupation at this time.[100] The demand for the training of nurses was not solely a reflection of white reformist preoccupations. For example, a request for the appointment of an African matron at the hospital of the New Brighton township came from some of the African members of the Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society.[101] For social reformers the training of nurses went beyond providing African staff for hospitals: they were also potential agents for disseminating Christian-informed medical values and practices in the expanding townships, where the access of whites was always limited.

Apart from links with child welfare agencies, there was also increased contact with white social and philanthropic bodies, particularly Rotary[102] and

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97. **Midland News**, 26 July 1928, press clipping in JCR, Cc5.5.

98. JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926.

99. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 12 November 1928.

100. D. Gaitskell, 'Christian Compounds for Girls', 44-69.

101. JCR, Cc5.4.1, Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society Minutes, 27 January 1925.

102. An international, non-political, benevolent society.

Toc H,[103] who were beginning to concern themselves with welfare work among Africans. In 1929 the JJC agreed to co-operate with the local Rotary in order to establish a more accessible V.D. clinic for Africans in the townships to the south and west of central Johannesburg.[104]

Joint council work gained a more critical edge when dealing with the question of Miners' Phthisis. In 1928-1929 a JJC sub-committee with Xuma in its ranks investigated cases where miners had not been paid out compensation.[105] The criticisms, though, were not extended to the conditions of work in the mining industry. The joint councils' interventions in the field of health were often closely related to efforts at structuring the leisure time and space of Africans, especially in the townships.[106] Though there was something of a diffusion of the ideas which informed the ABM ventures in Durban and in the Rand earlier in the decade and before, there were also signs that some of the joint council policy makers were looking beyond clubs and social centres on YMCA lines as locii of influence in the urban areas. The PNWA in a fundraising rationale for a proposed recreational centre in Marabastad, invoked the worker estates of Port Sunlight and that of the Bourneville Cocoa Company as models for ensuring 'the happiness and security of South Africa by providing for the life of the Native people outside their work'.[107]

There was, however, a marked disjunction between the formulation and implementation of schemes aimed at structuring the leisure time and space of Africans. Also, although there was on the whole an extension of joint coun-

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103. Toc H was the name of a movement that wished to capture a spirit of 'worship, fellowship and service to one another'. For more details see A. Paton, **Towards the Mountain** (Harmondsworth 1980), 103-106.

104. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 11 March 1929.

105. **Ibid.**, JJC Minutes, 1928-1929.

106. For a discussion on the notion of space as a terrain for social and cultural studies see Haines and Buijs, **The Struggle for Social and Economic Space**, introduction.

107. JCR, Cp9.4, PNWA Minute Book, 1919-1931, Copy of Circular placed before likely Guarantors, 1926.

cil involvement in organized social activities among urban Africans, this was an uneven process. For example, there was a decline in the Durban Joint Council's promotion of social activities during this period.[108]

The most ambitious efforts came from the JJC, which in the early months of 1925 began to look for ways of boosting its influence and countering the negative publicity accruing from its handling of the issue of passes for African women. Changes wrought by the operation of the Urban Areas Act including 'the concentration of the native population in locations and townships on the Witwatersrand',[109] offered the JJC 'a unique opportunity for drawing more closely towards the needs of the masses of the Native people on the Reef'.[110] It was crucial, said Rheinallt Jones and Ray Phillips in a fund-raising circular, that the JJC 'engage in definite work for the betterment of social life in the location and township and for influencing the daily lives of the masses'.[111] Selope Thema was hired for this work as 'an organizer of social activities'.[112] His first brief was to carry out a survey to determine the 'present and future needs' of Africans on the Witwatersrand.[113] Thema did not undertake any formal survey. His work during 1925-1926 seems to have taken the form of a series of sorties into the various Reef townships primarily to organize male social clubs loosely based on the Gamma Sigma model. It was hoped that social clubs would develop from this.[114]

Thema encountered opposition from TAC members and 'extremists' in most

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108. Haines, 'Policing Urban Culture'.

109. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1924-1925.

110. **Ibid.**, Circular letter from acting chairperson and secretary, 18 April 1925.

111. **Ibid.**

112. JCR, Selope Thema to Rheinallt Jones, 22 August 1925.

113. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1924-1925.

114. E.g. JCR, Thema to Rheinallt Jones, 22 August 1925; Memorandum by Selope Thema on 'Social Activities', 1926.

of the townships he visited,[115] but seems by early 1926 to have initiated social clubs in townships in Randfontein, Krugersdorp, Roodepoort and Boksburg. However, partly because of Phillips's absence from South Africa on furlough in 1926, and partly because of the JJC's consuming interest in the 'Colour Bar' and 'Native' Bills, Thema's work in the townships appears to have lost steam during the second half of 1926. Nevertheless, these clubs did provide a platform for Rheinallt Jones to discuss the 'Native' Bills in various Reef townships.[116] While documentation of the fortunes of these clubs in the late 1920s does not appear to exist, an impression is gained that the JJC downgraded their expectations of an outreach campaign and used Thema in other capacities.[117]

The JJC's close links with the ABM in ventures in the area of recreation continued. The Gamma Sigma Club, founded by Bridgman in Johannesburg and based since late 1924 in the Bantu Men's Social Centre, was reported to have had successful years in 1926 and 1927,[118] but the records are silent about its performance thereafter. On his return from furlough in 1927 Phillips expanded his film circuit, resumed the running of the main Gamma Sigma Club and took up further outside work in the form of 'the Improvement of Inter-Racial Relationships'. The latter set of activities involved, in Phillips's words, programmes for 'European groups with films, Glee Club singing, and plain talk by one or more of the Native men'.[119]

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115. **Ibid.**, Thema to Rheinallt Jones, 22 August 1925. Specific names are not given in this letter.

116. **Ibid.**, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1926.

117. E.g. in the first half of 1928 Thema toured the Union spreading the joint council gospel. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 6 September 1928 and 8 October 1928.

118. ABM Papers, Vol 39, Social Service Report, Department of Johannesburg, June 1926; Report of Social Work in Johannesburg, Transvaal, 1926-1927.

119. **Ibid.**, Social Work in Johannesburg, Report by Ray E. Phillips, 1928.

J.D. Taylor moved up to the Rand in 1927,[120] and with the backing of the JJC attempted to organize recreational and educational activities for Johannesburg's domestic servants 'who were without any provision for Christian and social privileges'.[121] As a step in this direction he attempted to set up savings agencies among this group to inculcate thrift and by implication encourage the use of money for recreational activities other than gambling and drinking. In addition, a night school was established in the Western Native Township which was placed under an expanding circuit of such schools run by Wesleyan minister E.W. Grant, who was to become JJC secretary in 1929.[122]

The JJC continued to press for the establishment of hostels for African women in the white urban areas with the key protagonists being Mrs Bridgman and Edith Rheinallt Jones. But the vast majority of white residents were vehemently opposed to such enterprises. For instance, a plot of land was bought in the northern suburb of Orchards in 1928, but construction was opposed after a white ratepayers' meeting.[123]

The departure of Dexter Taylor from Durban in late 1925 had a marked effect on both the Durban Joint Council and its efforts with the ABM in organizing and sustaining recreational ventures. The DJC went into a decline until late 1927.[124] Taylor maintained his interest in the Durban social centre project, trying to raise the necessary funds locally and in the United States.[125] Despite declining interest, lapsed pledges and other setbacks,[126]

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120. He had spent a year in the USA in 1926.

121. ABM Papers, Vol 39, Report of the Johannesburg Field for 1928-1929, by James D. Taylor.

122. Ibid.

123. Gaitskell, 'Christian Compounds for Girls', 56.

124. Haines, 'Policing Urban Culture'.

125. E.g. ABM Papers, vol 40, J.D. Taylor to Riggs, 29 October 1927; and to Mabel Emerson, 8 March 1928.

126. JCR, Cj2.1.9. Taylor to Rheinallt Jones, 28 April 1929.

the centre was established in 1934.[127]

Though there was a fair amount of contact between the JJC and the PJC on the score of recreational work, the latter organization does not appear to have developed any formal links with the ABM. Though somewhat less flamboyant than the JJC-ABM work in the Johannesburg and other Reef townships, its interventions were more focussed. This was partly because the Pretoria townships remained closer to the city centre than was the case in Johannesburg and also because the Association continued to have the highest proportion of active women members in its ranks.

In 1926 the PJC finally managed to secure land from the municipality for the erection of a recreational hall. In partnership with the Civic Society the Association managed to raise the capital guarantees for a municipal mortgage.[128] In late 1928 the building was completed and named the Dougall Hall. The PJC executive was empowered to act as the management committee. The hall was seen as 'merely the nucleus of a complete self-contained Social Centre which would comprise, besides the Hall itself, such items as a library, Reading rooms, Committee rooms, a gymnasium, and having in the grounds facilities for tennis and football, hockey, and other sports'.[129]

The management committee tended to espouse a prescriptive Christian moralism in its efforts to structure the recreational activities held in the hall. The committee ruled, for example, that the hall should not be hired on Sundays 'for purposes other than Divine Service or Religious Meetings'. Dances were the most popular form of entertainment held in the hall and the best revenue-spinners for the management committee. The committee, nevertheless, went out of its way to limit the number of dances held in the hall

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127. See chapter 8. See also Haines, 'Policing Urban Culture'.

128. JCR, Cp9.3, PJC Annual Report, 1926.

129. **Ibid.**, Executive Committee Annual Report, 1928-1929.

despite opposition from a number of the PNWA's African members.[130] A programme of films organized by the committee was boycotted by township residents objecting to the reduction of dances[131] and though attendances did pick up,[132] the programme had to be dropped the following year for financial reasons.[133]

The PNWA continued its practice of organizing an annual 'Native School Sports Meeting', which seems to have increased in popularity by the end of the decade.[134] In addition, Capt. Black, a member of both the PNWA and the Salvation Army, managed to form an amateur football association 'after three years of hard endeavours', with a membership of about 140.[135]

There is a scarcity of data regarding the activities of the other councils in regard to recreation. There appears to have been a heightened awareness among some of the councils of the 'importance' of arranging organized recreation among urban Africans. Most of the councils were directly or indirectly involved in establishing Pathfinder and sometimes Wayfarer troops in their areas. Of the societies in secondary cities, the Pietermaritzburg Native Welfare Society appears to have given the most attention to the broad question of recreation, in which it co-operated with the local Toc H.[136] The Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society by contrast, did little or nothing regarding recreation and other social work in the local townships. In part this was probably a reflection of the lack of women members. Following a visit by Rheinallt Jones and his wife to the city in mid-1926, he reported

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130. **Ibid.**; and Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 25 February 1929.

131. **Ibid.**; Cp9.4, PNWA Minutes, 19 September 1929.

132. **Ibid.**, 24 October 1929.

133. **Ibid.**, Executive Committee Report, April 1929-August 1930, in PNWA Minutes, 15 August 1930.

134. **Ibid.**

135. JCR, Capt. Black to Rheinallt Jones, 25 June 1929.

136. JCR, Cp1.1, Roseveare to Rheinallt Jones, 2 March 1928.

that 'as regards Walmer [township] at least, my wife was the first white lady those present could remember to have seen visiting the location!'.[137]

The Pathfinder and Wayfarer movements experienced considerable growth during this period. On the Rand and in Pretoria there was a consolidation of the movements. In other centres either a closer relationship developed between one or other of the movements and the local joint council,[138] or the particular joint council helped in the establishment of one or other of the movements.

The added emphasis on the Pathfinder and Wayfarer movements - the former particularly - seems to have been related to the growing concern by the joint councils, from 1927 onwards, of a seemingly higher incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency amongst urban Africans. The PNWA felt that its investigations and subsequent report on 'Native Juvenile Conditions' was 'perhaps the most important piece of work done by the Society'.[139] During 1928-1929 the BJC and DJC were both engaged in studies of juvenile delinquency.[140] Describing the work undertaken by the paid organizer of the Pathfinders on the Rand, Rheinallt Jones remarked that 'I get testimony from many sources of the excellent effect which the Movement is already having on the boys, and in view of the present wave of Native crime I look upon Ashton's work as a form of social intercourse'.[141] Pathfinders figured more prominently in joint council discussions and calculations. In part this may be due to the fact that juvenile delinquency is seen largely as a male phenomenon. As Michael Blanch comments,

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137. JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926.

138. As in the case of the DJC. JCR, Cd3.2, DJC Annual Report, 1928.

139. The PNWA paid close attention to the 'identification' of the growing problem of juvenile delinquency in the townships in the later 1920s. See e.g. JCR, Cp9.6.3., Report of Sub-Committee appointed to consider and report on conditions amongst native juveniles in the urban area of Pretoria, 1928.

140. JCR, Cb5.1, Rheinallt Jones to L. Marquard, 8 August 1928; Cd3.2, DJC Annual Report, 1928.

141. JCR, Rheinallt Jones to W. Webber, 30 December 1926.

youth is a category 'with strongly masculine and delinquent connotations'.[142]

CONCLUSION

Joint council activities expanded on a range of fronts in the later 1920s, and it could be argued that they reached the peak of their influence among Africans during this period. The socio-cultural interventions in the lives of urban Africans were extended but one should be wary of assuming that there was a corresponding increase in social control. There was a heightened involvement in social welfare matters, particularly in the health field. By and large, joint councils gave more attention to structuring the leisure time of Africans. A number of councils helped establish and run Wayfarer and Pathfinder detachments. This was part of a wider emphasis on the moral and cultural control and transformation of African youth, boys in particular. Juvenile delinquency was identified by white and African joint councillors as a substantial social problem, although the reasons for their concerns were not identical. African fears were more immediate. An attack on their persons by an **amalaita** gang was always a possibility, and humiliating if not necessarily life-threatening.

There was usually a strong paternalist side to relations between whites and Africans on the councils. This paternalism often took the form of a prescriptive and Christian-influenced moralism which revealed itself in issues such as the prohibition of domestic brewing and sanitizing African dance evenings. Missionaries and clerics were often in the forefront of such interventions. The ABM missionaries, Ray Phillips in particular, continued to think in terms of more thoroughgoing strategies of cultural control and transformation than did the other churches and missions. Phillips, for instance, played an important role in formulating an elaborate scheme for the comprehensive control of African women in the towns as an alternative o the govern-

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142. M. Blanch, 'Imperialism, Nationalism and Organised Youth' in J. Clarke, C. Critcher and R. Johnson (eds), **Working Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory** (London, 1979), 103.

ment's enforcement of night passes for women.

In taking too prescriptive a line in their socio-cultural interventions, whites on the councils partly short-circuited efforts at extending their constituency among the African petty bourgeoisie at large, and establishing a more substantive alliance with the African political elite. In particular, the JJC's stance on the night passes issue further strained relations with the TAC, which was an influential section of the ANC. A number of prominent ANC leaders were members of the joint councils, but there is insufficient evidence regarding the nature and extent of their participation to argue that the joint councils undermined African leadership. A similar point can be made about the relationship between the ICU and the joint councils. Furthermore, the apparent co-option of the ICU leadership, especially in the Transvaal, cannot be explained adequately as the product of the strategy of white liberals on the JJC. Ethelreda Lewis was not part of the inner sanctum of the Council and struggled to convince the male hierarchy to forge closer ties with the ICU. The development of JJC interest in the matter was partly the result of outside inputs such as that of the Pietermaritzburg Native Welfare Society. Even so, the JJC's standpoint on this issue was never fully worked out, nor was the Council establishment fully convinced of the wisdom of too close a co-operation with Ballinger and the ICU. The need for a **modus vivendi** between the joint councils and the Union was overtaken by new developments, including the launching of the SAIRR.

There is no doubt that the joint councils made attempts at co-opting African political elite in both the ICU and ANC, but these were not as systematic, self-conscious or as destructive as has been argued. Furthermore, to argue that they were only partly successful in their co-optive role is to underplay the dynamics of African participation in the councils. As has been pointed out, Africans played a greater role in setting up joint councils than has been acknowledged. The councils were certainly perceived as offering a

means of confirming or extending the petty bourgeois standing of African members.

CHAPTER 7

THE BUSINESS OF LIBERALISM: THE SAIRR AND THE JOINT COUNCILS, C.1926-1942.

This chapter suggests that vested interests were not inconsiderable in the articulation and promotion of liberalism in the interwar years. It shows how the momentum among joint councils and native welfare associations towards a more centralized organization with paid full-time staff was diverted into the creation of a 'non-political' advisory and research body on 'race relations', the SAIRR. The Institute was essentially the creation of Loram and Rheinallt Jones, especially the former. The conditions of its conception originated in Loram's invocation of the fear that joint councils might become too political and not in the fears of the American donors[1]- the Inter-Racial Committees of the American South were after all quite acceptable to the two philanthropic foundations.

The joint councils had a central role in the making of liberal-social thought in the later 1920s.[2] Although there was a marked increase in liberal writings in the following decade, there was little in the way of a qualitative development of a coherent consensus as to the content of liberal social thought.[3] The prevailing racism[4] in white society and the intensification of segregationist policies by the state were no doubt major determinants of the relative stasis in liberalism. It was also a reflection of a situation in which the organizational infrastructure of voluntary social reformism among

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1. Phelps Stokes Fund and Carnegie Foundation.

2. See chapters 5 and 6; Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism'.

3. R.J. Haines, 'Liberalism and the Making of National Culture in South Africa' (Association for Sociology in Southern Africa conference paper, University of Western Cape, 1987).

4. On this point see S. Dubow, 'Race, Civilization and Culture: The Elaboration of Segregation Discourse in the Inter-War Years' in Marks and Trapido, **Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism**, 75-78.

Africans became more diverse and less homogeneous.[5] The SAIRR, by virtue of having sufficient funds to run a full-time organizational structure and by incorporating some of the leading actors from the joint councils (as well as their lines of influence), was able to command the high ground in the 1930s in processes of the making and marshalling of liberalism.

In South Africa, and probably elsewhere, liberalism is not simply a set of practices and ideas generated to explain and improve a particular ordering of capitalist society. Liberalism is more than an ideological superstructure; it also seems to be embedded in the broad processes of production within that society - especially the processes of cultural production.[6] As will be shown in this chapter, liberalism institutionalizes itself; it becomes something of a business or a profession.

Liberal thought and practice is conditioned or shaped by the institutions in which they are expressed. Moreover, those projects and pronouncements which are accredited by the institutions concerned are not infrequently those which have prevailed over other suggestions and productions. In other words, the making of liberalism is affected by the struggles between certain social actors attempting to propagate their ideas and schemes within a particular institution. Institutional alternatives are not always available. This is an important consideration because the ability to further one's ideas demands certain material means which may include access to institutions or circuits of influence. In addition, the raison d'etre of institutions may change over time. The process of perpetuating an institution can obscure the pursuit of the objectives for which it was set up in the first place.

From 1924 onwards the question of the federation of the joint councils

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5. African social and cultural organisations also became more diverse during this time. See e.g. chapters 8 and 10 below; Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', chapter 2.

6. Haines, 'Liberalism and the Making of National Culture'.

and native welfare societies became an important issue. During the 1924 in-house conference of joint councils Selope Thema and J. Dexter Taylor pleaded for the establishment of a federal council.[7] Despite these urgings and the fact that a draft constitution for such a federal body had been in existence since 1923,[8] Rheinallt Jones seems to have marked time on the matter in the months that followed.[9] In 1925 the secretary of the East London Native Welfare Association asked whether a draft constitution for a federation of joint councils on which the individual councils could model their constitutions had been drawn up. Rheinallt Jones replied that he did not think 'that we have gone far enough with the Federation' for such a move. The proposed federation would have to wait, he implied, until he had returned from an impending trip to the USA where he was 'to study Negro Development schemes and also to see something of their inter-racial committees'.[10]

Partly because of the volume of segregationist legislation occupying the joint councils' attention, Rheinallt Jones postponed the USA trip indefinitely. The protest against the Colour Bar Bill and related measures lead him to report to the Phelps Stokes Fund that '[t]he need of a central organization was never more acutely felt'.[11]

Apart from its Education Commissions which toured South Africa in 1921 and 1924, the Phelps Stokes Fund maintained a direct interest in the joint councils. Loram had been the South African representative of the Phelps Stokes Fund since the early 1920s, for which he received a regular allowance.[12] This

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7. See chapter 4 for further information.

8. Ibid.

9. Brookes felt that Rheinallt Jones dragged his heels in convening a 1924 conference of joint councils. See chapter 4.

10. JCR, H. Harper to Rheinallt Jones, 13 March 1925; Rheinallt Jones to Harper, 7 August 1925.

11. JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926.

12. A.P. Stokes Papers, Box 31, Anson Phelps Stokes to Loram, 23 November 1926.

gave him a say in the disbursement of its South African grants in the field of 'native betterment' and 'inter-racial relations'. Contributions by Phelps Stokes[13] seem to have been directed by Loram at the embryonic 'associated joint councils' rather than individual bodies. The accounting procedure for this money was cursory and idiosyncratic.[14] Loram seems to have used joint council money on a variety of projects not directly connected with these bodies. The joint councils received $300[15] in 1926 and $500 in 1927[16] a large proportion of which seems to have gone to Rheinallt Jones's expenses - travelling and otherwise.[17]

Loram looked on the joint councils proprietorially. A press release from Atlanta, which he visited in October 1926, described him as 'the recognized leader and spokesman' of the joint councils.[18] Such a description would probably have surprised leading members of the joint councils; the tendency was to perceive Loram as a civil servant first and foremost. Rheinallt Jones was widely acknowledged in South Africa as the leading light in the joint councils,[19] and indeed, his actions suggest that he had marked out the generalship of the joint councils as his own. An argument between Brookes and Rheinallt Jones over the calling of an informal conference in mid-1926 between a few senior Anglican and DRC clergy, is illuminating in this respect. Rheinallt Jones saw this conference as pre-empting the European-Bantu confer-

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13. It is not clear when Phelps Stokes money was first voted for the joint councils.

14. A.P. Stokes Papers, Box 27, File 445, Phelps Stokes to T. Jesse Jones, 21 February 1928.

15. **Ibid.**, Box 31, File 510, Loram to Phelps Stokes, 25 July 1926; JCR, Ad4, Report by Rheinallt Jones, 1926.

16. **Ibid.**, Box 31, Phelps Stokes to Loram, 23 November 1926. This letter refers to money earmarked for the joint councils for 1927.

17. **Ibid.**, Box 31, File 510, Loram to Phelps Stokes, 25 July 1926.

18. **Ibid.**, Press Service of the Commission for Inter-Racial Co-operation.

19. See e.g. PSF, Box 27, American Board of Commissions, Phillips to Jesse Jones, 28 May 1927.

ence which he was planning to call later that year and pressurized a number of the would-be participants to abort the conference. Brookes, who was one of the conference organizers, was annoyed that Rheinallt Jones had not bothered to refer to him in the matter. He also objected to the fact that Rheinallt Jones had called for the abandonment of the conference on behalf of the central committee of the native welfare societies and joint councils without consulting him as member of the committee. 'This Conference originated quite independently of the Johannesburg Joint Council', Brookes added, 'and I take it that movements may from time to time do that.'[20]

During 1926, the future role(s) of the joint councils became more of an issue, at least for Loram. In the first place, he possibly feared that his standing with the Hertzog administration was weakened by the joint councils' campaign against the Colour Bar Bill.[21] Though he was overseas when the councils were formulating their responses to the Native Bills, it is quite likely that he was concerned that they would confront the government on the measures. Secondly, an important aim for Loram in his two trips to the United States in mid- and late-1926 was to secure American philanthropic funding for projects in the field of 'race welfare', including the joint councils. As Legassick suggests, this probably would have entailed Loram drawing up some kind of agenda for joint council work.[22]

In September 1926 Loram, in the early stages of his second trip to the

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20. JCR, Brookes to Rheinallt Jones, 27 July 1926.

21. Little evidence has been found regarding Loram's relationship with Hertzog at this stage. However, it is apparent that he was against Rheinallt Jones becoming involved in opposing Hertzog's Segregation Bills (see chapter 5). See Jesse Jones's comment to Phelps Stokes: 'I am wondering what your impressions are of Loram's rather emotional statements. He is undoubtedly under a great strain and deserves all the sympathy we can give him.' A.P. Stokes Papers, Box 27, File 439, 18 April 1927. Also see Rheinallt Jones's observation to Edith Rheinallt Jones on hearing of the removal of Loram from the NAC: 'Poor Loram, he does seem unhappy. His wings are terribly clipped and I am afraid he has many enemies who are gleeful over it. I expect he will not be so terribly anxious to spare the government's feelings in future!' (emphasis added) SAIRR Records, B 3.5, 18 March 1930.

22. Legassick, 'C.T. Loram'.

USA, wrote to Rheinallt Jones that

> American experience would help keep the local joint councils aloof from national issues ... Keep your political organization separate ... I have departed from my view of a National Joint Council. I see that joint councils to be effective must be local and non-political.... If we are to get help from America the joint council work must be like that of the inter-racial committees in America.[23]

The timing of this letter is interesting. It was sent from Paris after Loram had attended the 1926 International Missionary Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, where he had clashed with Macmillan on South Africa's segregation policy.[24] The fact that the latter had played an active role alongside Rheinallt Jones in organizing the protest against the Colour Bar Bill, probably gave Loram reason to feel he was in danger of losing his influence over the direction of joint council policy. Furthermore, the letter was written before Loram began his major trip to the Southern States. His references to the inter-racial committees and the controlling body, the Inter-Racial Commission, in the letter were selective. Indeed, when Rheinallt Jones visited the United States in 1930 he found them more activist than Loram's depiction.[25]

Although inter-racial committees were not overtly political, operating in the cautious manner of Southern liberalism as described by Gunnar Myrdal,[26] Loram tended to depict them as merely preoccupied with local affairs.[27] Major Moton, who after Booker T. Washington became rector of Tuskegee, gave these committees the major credit for the decrease in the number of lynchings after 1922. While the inter-racial movement did little in the way of actively

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23. JCR, Cj2.1.6(c), Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 22 September 1926. This important quote was first cited by Horton, 'South Africa's Joint Councils'.

24. Legassick, 'The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism'.

25. See e.g. SAIRR Records, B 3.5, Rheinallt Jones to Edith Rheinallt Jones, 4 March 1930: 'Loram has completely misunderstood the attitude of the Commission on Racial Co-operation. The Commission does little actual work itself but gets other bodies to do things and wherever possible gets other bodies to take up active opposition to measures.'

26. Myrdal, **An American Dilemma**, Vol II, especially 842-850.

27. See e.g. JCR, Cj2.1.6(c), Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 22 September 1926.

challenging the segregationist status quo and the large scale disfranchising of blacks in the South, the situation was not wholly analogous with that in South Africa. For instance, under the terms of the American constitution, blacks did have the theoretical right to vote although only a small percentage were actually able to exercise it. In South Africa, however, the Pact government was proposing to remove the constitutional right for blacks to vote on the same roll as whites. A further point Loram glossed over[28] was that the inter-racial committees fell under a formal organizational structure consisting of paid officials[29] who were responsible to a central office in Atlanta while joint councils in South Africa were initiated and managed by volunteers.

Loram's misgivings about the political nature of the joint councils were not to remain a matter between him and Rheinallt Jones. In a letter to Anson Phelps Stokes, president of the Phelps Stokes Fund, Loram explicitly warned of the dangers of the joint councils taking a 'political' line. Stokes's reply suggests that it was the first time he had heard this argument:

> I note what you say regarding the dangers of political propaganda by the inter-racial bodies. We will agree that political propaganda has its proper place and that when face to face with such an emergency as the Colour Bar some agency must undertake it. It is true, as you say, however, that in this country the success of the inter-racial movement is due to the fact that it has devoted itself to definite legal tasks rather than to general theories. I will see that the vote regarding the Joint Council is safeguarded in the way that you indicate.[30]

In January 1927 the Phelps Stokes Fund voted an additional sum for the development of 'inter-racial work'. Instead of finding means of using it immediately, Rheinallt Jones suggested to Anson Phelps Stokes that the appro-

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28. Loram failed to mention this issue in communications to Rheinallt Jones or in his dinner address to a New York function dinner in 1926. For details on the latter event, see IMC/CBMS, **Address by Dr. C.T. Loram of the Native Affairs Commission on the occasion of a dinner given in his honour by the Phelps Stokes Fund of New York** (New York, 1926).

29. Myrdal, **An American Dilemma**, Vol II, 844.

30. A.P. Stokes Papers, Yale, Box 31, file 510, Phelps Stokes to Loram, 23 November 1926.

priation be handed to Loram 'as your representative in South Africa'.[31] He stressed that Stokes's stipulation that the money should not be spent on 'political propaganda' would 'be scrupulously observed'. He pointed out, however, that the joint councils were not spuriously political:

> In all our discussions we have emphasized questions of principle rather than of detail, and while at the moment this may appear to bring Joint Councils into too close contact with political struggles, I feel that in the long run it will be easier to carry on inter-racial work once we have convinced the white people in South Africa that the development and progress of the coloured races are absolutely essential for the well-being of the country.[32]

An impression is gained that Rheinallt Jones was somewhat uncertain about the wisdom of committing himself fully to joint council work at this stage. Apart from the question of financial security, his work at the Council of Education[33] gave him a certain amount of flexibility to pursue a variety of projects. It was in 1927, for instance, that he began lecturing in Native Administration and Law on a part-time basis.[34] Complicating the matter was a job offer some time in the early months of 1927 of the post of organizer for the University.[35] The post, he wrote to Ray Phillips 'will be a good one' with 'many attractions'. However, he felt that 'to live dangerously [was] far more attractive than ... liv[ing] a sequestered and safe' life and regarded his desire to work for racial betterment through the joint councils almost 'like a call'.[36]

Ray Phillips, on furlough in America, impressed upon Jesse Jones the need for decisive action to enable joint council work to be promoted on a

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31. JCR, Rheinallt Jones to Phelps Stokes, 18 January 1927.

32. Ibid.

33. Part of the University of the Witwatersrand.

34. Rich, Liberal Conscience, 58.

35. PSF, File SAIRR, 1927-1939, Jesse Jones to Rheinallt Jones, 11 April 1927.

36. Phillips citing Rheinallt Jones. PSF, Schomburg, Box 27, American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions, Phillips to Jesse Jones, 28 May 1927.

full-time basis by Rheinallt Jones:

> ... we have got to do something in this emergency! If Rheinallt Jones is not kept on in this work, this inter-racial work will crumble. He has been the moving spirit in the whole venture.

He added:

> Your objection that this inter-racial work is political, is more apparent than real ... Your committee need not have the least fear that it will become connected in any way with political propaganda by associating with this movement. The Christian people of the land are solidly behind any movement that will voice Christian sentiment, and we are helping them through this inter-racial movement merely to unite in expressing one voice instead of a hundred different ones.[37]

Phillip's plea had the desired effect,[38] and in June the trustees of the Fund voted to make an appropriation of $2 000 a year for three years to enable the Inter-Racial Committee to continue the services of Rheinallt Jones 'with the understanding that if recommended by Dr Loram this will be continued for two years thereafter at $1000'.[39]

Neither Rheinallt Jones nor Loram appear to have shown any urgency in responding to the offer and by the end of 1927 had yet to requisition the Phelps Stokes money. Among the possible reasons for this stalling was the visit to South Africa, during August and September, by Drs Keppel and Bertram of the Carnegie Corporation. Apart from looking for additional funding for the joint councils, Loram appears to have been angling for some kind of advisory role regarding possible Carnegie Corporation interventions in South Africa and parts of British Africa.[40] Rheinallt Jones for his part appears to have been somewhat dazzled by the possibilities offered by a Carnegie presence in South Africa. In a letter to Dr Keppel he proposed ventures in the fields

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37. Ibid.

38. This letter which Stokes described as a 'strong presentation', was brought before the trustees of the Phelps Stokes Fund. A.P. Stokes Papers, File 442, Phelps Stokes to Jesse Jones, 1 June 1927.

39. Ibid. Box 31, File 510, Anson Phelps Stokes to Loram, 7 June 1927.

40. Legassick, 'C.T. Loram'.

of education and research into socio-economic relations which would address 'a few of the main needs of South Africa in so far as my own interests are concerned'. Interestingly, he did not refer to the joint councils in this submission.[41]

In January 1928 the Carnegie Corporation informed Loram that it was prepared to allocate £3 750 to be spread over a five-year period and 'to be distributed under the direction of the Associated Joint Councils'.[42] This galvanized Loram who wrote to Rheinallt Jones suggesting that he consult Pim 'and other wise men' about how to proceed with 'the project of a Federation of Joint Councils'.[43] Rheinallt Jones discussed the matter at length with Pim and Ray Phillips and all three agreed that a central body was premature because of the undeveloped state of the joint councils.[44] They felt it preferable for the funds to be spent on the activities of a full-time organizer (who would almost certainly be Rheinallt Jones). This organizer would be able to build up the various individual joint councils and give strategic direction to the movement as a whole, which would lead to the organic development of an effective central body. In lieu of the establishment of a central body to oversee the allocation of funds for local work by joint councils, the JJC group suggested that funds from the American foundations, and any other monies given to the joint councils, be vested in a few trustees among whom would be Rheinallt Jones. The funds would be available for joint council work and 'cognate efforts such as Native Recreation Grounds'.[45] And until the

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41. JCR, Cj2.1.7, Rheinallt Jones to F. Keppel, 29 August 1927.

42. JCR, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 11 January 1928.

43. Ibid.

44. 'I feel more and more [Rheinallt Jones explained] that we have not yet drawn the best type into our Joint Councils ... if we form a National body now we may not be fortunate in the men who get on to the Council.' JCR, Rheinallt Jones to Loram, 22 January 1928.

45. J.W. Horton, private collection of joint council records, Pim et al to Loram 20 January 1928.

time was ripe for a 'National Council', an informal consultative committee could be formed 'whom the organizer would consult at the various centres, and whom he would keep informed'.[46]

In reply, Loram objected that an informal consultative committee would not provide 'sufficient direction to an organizer'. Nor was it 'safe or even fair to allow the organizer a free hand'. The organizer should rather be responsible to a formal committee, preferably of the joint councils. He did not foresee any major problems in setting up a federal body and in any case it was imperative for the joint councils to collectively decide what they proposed to do with the American money in order to let these donors 'know exactly how far their funds might be used in political propaganda'.[47] Part of the underlying tension in the exchanges between Loram and the JJC group seems to have been about which party was to exercise dominant control over the policy and development of the joint councils. The kind of federal body envisaged by Loram - essentially one in which parties other than those drawn from the joint councils would be represented - would effectively dilute the JJC influence and give him greater influence in joint council matters.

Loram did not handle the discussion-by-correspondence between himself and the JJC hierarchy in a principled manner. In one of the earlier exchanges Rheinallt Jones requested that he and Loram discuss the matter before any definite steps were taken.[48] Loram did not heed this request and sent copies of the correspondence between himself and the JJC group to America - an action for which Pim took him to task:

> [you are] creating an unfortunate impression regarding our aims and methods in inter-racial work. It seems to us most important that just when the very advance which you and we have so long desired and worked for has become possible, you should suddenly become nervous and go to

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46. JCR, Cj2.1.8, Rheinallt Jones to Loram, 22 January 1928.

47. Horton collection, Loram to Pim, 3 February 1928.

48. JCR, Rheinallt Jones to Loram, 22 January 1928.

considerable lengths to warn the Phelps Stokes Fund and the Carnegie Foundation against your own very recent recommendations.[49]

There was something of a stalemate for the next few months. In September, Rheinallt Jones, possibly aware that the patience of the American donors was being strained, informed Phelps Stokes that he was arranging a meeting of joint councils for late 1928 to take 'definite action' regarding the 'future organization of inter-racial work in the Union'.

> Everywhere I am asked why we cannot have a federation of joint councils and a man specially set aside for the work .... The joint council movement stands high and I am convinced that the new federation will be the co-ordinating body for inter-racial work.[50]

This acceptance of a federation was something of a shift by the JJC group, though the emphasis was still being placed on a paid organizer. Rheinallt Jones appears to have been delicately pleading to Phelps Stokes to persuade the Carnegie Corporation to allow its appropriation to be used for the organizer's salary as well.[51] To strengthen his arm at the conference he also requested a letter from the Phelps Stokes Fund declaring that its grant had been set aside towards the salary of an organizer. [52]

Two months later Loram presented Phelps Stokes with a different scenario. He and Rheinallt Jones had begun thinking along the lines of establishing a body separate from the joint councils to administer the American funds. The provisionally titled 'Non-European Social Welfare Committee' would 'consist of men of all shades of political opinion'. Rheinallt Jones would be the paid official of the Committee and the American foundations would provide funds for a suggested period of five years. The Committee would co-operate with the joint councils and should the latter wish to assume control of the

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49. **Ibid.**, Pim to Loram, 3 February 1928.

50. PSF, Office Files of T. Jesse Jones, File: General Correspondence, 1931-1946, Rheinallt Jones to Jesse Jones, 17 September 1928.

51. **Ibid.**, Jesse Jones to Rheinallt Jones, 19 October 1928.

52. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Jesse Jones, 17 September 1928.

activities of Rheinallt Jones (or his replacement), they would have to pay his salary.

> He [Rheinallt Jones] would have an excuse for dissociating himself from political movements inasmuch as he was your agent working through us, and on the other hand, if he was inclined to enter on matters which we thought might injure you and the Carnegie people we could interfere.[53]

Phelps Stokes found the provisional name of the envisaged committee 'a bit ambiguous' and suggested it be called the 'Inter-Racial Welfare Committee'. However, he was prepared to hand over money, as far as the Phelps Stokes Fund was concerned, to any organization Rheinallt Jones and Loram were able to launch 'in the inter-racial field'.[54]

During December 1928, and in early 1929, the scheme for the establishment of the 'non-political' committee gathered momentum. By early December, concrete steps had been taken to call the proposed conference of joint councils,[55] to discuss, inter alia, the deployment of the American funds for inter-racial work.[56] Later in the month Rheinallt Jones began pushing for the immediate formation of a small committee, with the approval of Phelps Stokes and Carnegie, to administer funds given for joint council work. This was imperative, he informed Loram, if they wished to avoid awkward and torturous discussions at the impending conference, for 'as the joint councils are hardly yet welded together we might easily have such conflict as to make any decision impossible'. He suggested a number of possible members of the committee, none of whom were African. The proposed committee would be responsible for administration and for the appointment of a person to carry out the policy until the Federation of Joint Councils was securely established and

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53. A.P. Stokes Papers, Loram to Phelps Stokes, 25 November 1928.

54. **Ibid.**, Box 31, file 511, Phelps Stokes to Loram, 27 December 1928.

55. Originally intended for late 1928.

56. Horton collection, Rheinallt Jones to Jesse Jones, 5 December 1928.

representative of the country as a whole.[57]

Loram was in general agreement with Rheinallt Jones's proposal and wrote to Jesse Jones of the Phelps Stokes Fund asking for cabled approval, but with the express exclusion of the funds being used for political activity.[58] Loram also wrote to Rheinallt Jones that day insisting that the proposed committee should emphatically not oppose the revised Native Bills which were before parliament. The committee's funds had to be separate from the money which had recently been contributed to the JJC by the English Quakers to campaign against the Bills. He also recommended that Rheinallt Jones's list of possible committee members be revised to correct an over-representation of Johannesburg members and to include Jabavu and Brookes.[59]

Rheinallt Jones made approaches to the people on his short list, namely: T.W. Mackenzie, member of the BJC during the later 1920s and editor of the Bloemfontein-based daily newspaper the **Friend**; J.H. Nicholson a past chairman of the Durban Joint Council; Prof. du Plessis a leading DRC theologian; Brookes; Pim and Jabavu. Brookes was the only one to express reservations about serving on a self-appointed committee and urged that the committee be validated as an executive committee of the joint councils by the forthcoming February conference of joint councils.[60]

Loram's hopes that the joint councils would fall into line and avoid 'controversial' issues appear to have been dashed by the proceedings of the European-Bantu conference in February 1929. For one, his motion against an unscheduled debate on the franchise question was substantially outvoted.[61]

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57. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Loram, 21 December 1928.

58. **Ibid.**, Loram to Jesse Jones, 27 December 1928.

59. JCR, Cj2.1.8a, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 27 December 1928.

60. JCR, Cj2.1.9, Brookes to Rheinallt Jones, 28 January 1929.

61. JCR, Ac5.4, **Report of the National European-Bantu Conference, February 6-9, 1929** (Lovedale, 1929), 32-33.

Secondly, the formation of a federal body of joint councils, the Inter-Racial Council, with only joint councillors on the executive and Rheinallt Jones as secretary, was not to his liking.

> Do not be surprised [he wrote Keppel] if I temporize a little before making any further recommendation to you and Dr Stokes regarding the Committee to administer the grant for native welfare .... In spite of all I could say or do the joint councils will not abstain from politics. I suppose it is asking too much of the native members when they see the strength of this movement and when other agencies have failed them. If I were a native and indeed if I were an ordinary white member of a joint council I would pursue the same course.[62]

He argued that even if the money went toward non-political activities the consolidation of the joint councils would increase their capacity for political activities:

> If you and the Phelps Stokes Fund use your money to pay Jones salary and he organizes these councils which become political you will be blamed by the mass of the whites here and possibly your other activities will suffer. ... The situation has changed since I last wrote inasmuch as the Conference of Joint Councils clearly showed that the joint council movement as it exists today is largely political. ... Rheinallt Jones is vexed with me. He says that I have a bee in my bonnet about politics. I shall invite him to write his views to you direct if he likes and to get such friends as share his views to do the same. ... It is a grave mistake for the movement to become political. Already it has made it difficult for the Dutch Church to co-operate. Now the Govt. servants will not be allowed to be members I fear. ... Possibly I am wrong. Jones, Brookes, Pim, Dexter Taylor, and others do not agree with me.[63]

The emotional tone which pervades the letter quoted above, reflects Loram's insecurity about his future on the NAC. Since late 1928, he was faced with the real possibility of having to return to the Natal Education Department from which he had been seconded, a move which would have largely put paid to his ambitions of playing a national role in structuring a reformist native policy.[64] He was in a position of declining influence with Hertzog who was being pulled in a more right-wing direction by his party. Loram was

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62. PSF, File F.P. Keppel Carnegie Corporation, Loram to Keppel, 8 February 1929.

63. **Ibid.**

64. Legassick, 'C.T. Loram'.

also perturbed that the 'modernists' in the DRC hierarchy were being sidelined in matters of broad policy. This, he felt, was a severe setback to efforts to get the DRC to help in conscientizing the white public regarding 'a people not receiving fair play'.[65]

The Inter-Racial Council (IRC) was set up at a separate session of the 1929 gathering, a conference within a conference, called to consider the formation of a 'central body' of joint councils. Interestingly, the session was by invitation only with W.G. Ballinger being placed unwittingly in the position of an uninvited guest.[66] After considering a draft constitution for the IRC submitted by Rheinallt Jones, the meeting decided to set up the Council. An Executive Committee was elected with Pim as president, J.W. Mushet of the Cape Native Welfare Society and Jabavu as vice-presidents, Rheinallt Jones as secretary and Dexter Taylor as treasurer. The non-office holders were Brookes, Selope Thema, Rev. A. Mtimkulu (Cape Town),[67] John Dube (Durban), Rev. St. George Stead (Grahamstown), Dr J.S. Moroka (Thaba 'Nchu, OFS) and Prof. Burchell (Pietermaritzburg). Moroka, a physician and social activist, came from an area which did not have a joint council. The others were all senior members of joint councils.[68]

Loram informed the meeting that a special committee had been set up to consider allocations of the Carnegie grant. The IRC Executive does not seem to have made much effort to discuss how the council was to go about its business. They seemed content with passing a motion urging the committee to allocate the Carnegie money for the salary of a full time secretary, a position for which Rheinallt Jones was the obvious candidate. Significantly, the

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65. IMC/CBMS, Box 1229, File M, Loram to Oldham, 4 December 1928.

66. JCR, Cj2.1.9, Lewis to Rheinallt Jones, 7 February 1929.

67. Mtimkulu was based in Cape Town at this time and appears to have moved back to Durban in the early 1930s.

68. JCR, Inter-Racial Council of South Africa, Conference Minutes, Cape Town, 6 February 1929.

meeting was not informed of the existence of the Phelps Stokes grant for joint council work.[69] Had this been the case there might have been more of a concern with placing the IRC on proper organizational footing. As matters stood it was probably widely assumed that with Rheinallt Jones at the helm the future of the IRC was secure.[70]

Rheinallt Jones's calculations in regard to the IRC are not entirely clear. Did he assume secretaryship to ensure that the direction of joint council policy did not pass out of his hands, or did he see the IRC as a viable body which could possibly run in tandem with the committee to administer the American funds? One suspects that he was hedging his bets. It was surely not lost on him that the formation of the IRC might force Loram to show more urgency regarding the release of the American funds. And abandoning the idea of federating the joint councils would have raised a few eyebrows, as it was one of the reasons for holding the conference. Also, a fair amount of thought seems to have gone into the IRC venture; it was a product of Rheinallt Jones's discussions with certain JJC members.[71] Its very name, with its similarity to the Atlanta-based Inter-Racial Commission, was probably chosen with an American audience in mind. The name 'Inter-Racial Council' was one which could accommodate, if necessary, organizational configurations other than that of whites and Africans.[72] Although Rheinallt Jones was later to complain of the IRC as 'too narrow a body',[73] he was largely responsible for organizing the meeting at which it was formed. Moreover, with the exception

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69. Ibid.

70. The only other decision taken, on the suggestion from Rheinallt Jones, was that of forming a deputation to see the Secretary of Native Affairs to attempt to secure trading facilities for Africans in the townships.

71. JCR, Ad6, Note on the Future Structure of Joint Councils.

72. Sir Kurmah Reddie, the Agent-General from India, had been specifically asked to attend the meeting and to speak on the Indo-European councils.

73. JCR, Cj2.1.9, Rheinallt Jones to Loram, 24 March 1929.

of Moroka, the African members of the IRC executive were essentially of a conservative bent. The same could be said of the white members. For whatever reasons, people such as Mabel Palmer, Macmillan and Leo Marquard, who had both the energy and analytical skills to make a creative contribution to the development of the Council, were not among its members.

In the weeks following the February conference, Loram went to considerable lengths to block funds for the joint councils. He approached a few public figures, with no direct connection with the joint councils, to support his contention that the joint councils should not become political.[74] Worn down by an increasing load of university work, which left him little time for joint council matters[75] - and perhaps frustrated at the continuing impasse - Rheinallt Jones came to terms with Loram:

> I am accepting as final your view that it would be dangerous and even wrong to use the money to organize the joint councils ... [76]

As Rheinallt Jones saw it, they were in a position to implement what he had advocated in early 1928, namely for him to work as an organizer responsible to an informal committee. He would not feel happy to leave the University to work for the IRC and felt that it would be easier to strengthen their special Committee if necessary.[77] This suggestion, however, represented a shift from his stance in early 1928; he would no longer be working directly for the consolidation of joint councils. As an alternative Rheinallt Jones suggested that the University be apportioned money from the Carnegie Corporation and Phelps Stokes Fund to appoint a free-ranging researcher attached to the De-

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74. **Ibid.**, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 28 February 1929.

75. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Loram, 17 March 1929.

76. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Loram, 24 March 1929.

77. **Ibid.**

partment of Bantu Studies.[78]

Given these reservations, a meeting of an ad hoc Committee was held in Johannesburg at the house of Ray and Dora Phillips on 9 May 1929. This body consisted of eight people: Pim, Loram, Mackenzie, Nicholson, Jabavu, du Plessis, Brookes, and Rheinallt Jones. In formally accepting the American funds, the committee accorded priority to 'the appointment of an adviser on race relations in South Africa to work under the direction of a non-political committee to be called the South African Committee on Race Relations'. Rheinallt Jones was asked to accept appointment as Adviser at a salary of £1000 per annum for five years, with permission to keep his part-time appointment as secretary of the Council of Education. The entire Phelps Stokes grant would go towards this salary and the balance would be underwritten by the Carnegie grant.[79] The meeting then restructured itself as a meeting of the South African Committee on Race Relations with Loram elected as chairman, Pim as treasurer and Rheinallt Jones as secretary and convener (as well as Adviser). These office-holders comprised the executive. It was decided that should Rheinallt Jones accept the appointment, which he subsequently did, he would assume duties on 1 January 1930. After the meeting had ended, the Executive Committee reconsidered the name of the newly formed body and decided to recommend that it be changed to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).[80]

The establishment of the Institute was publicly announced in August 1929 but it only became operational in late 1930. Horton describes the Institute's objectives as four-fold:

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78. Ibid. Monetary and status considerations came into play. He suggested that the Council of Education would be amenable to letting him retain its secretaryship and accompanying salary of £300 p.a.

79. Quentin Whyte Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, Minutes of meeting of committee appointed to deal with grant by Phelps Stokes Fund for Inter-Racial Work in South Africa and that of Carnegie Corporation for General Native Betterment, 9 May 1929.

80. Ibid.

> Its purposes were first to be a fact-finding body on all aspects of race relations, in a spirit of scholarly, scientific inquiry; second to educate public opinion and root out race prejudice by constant publication of the results of its researches; third to be the connecting link between all organisations and individuals concerned with race relations - welfare societies, missionary bodies, Universities, student organisations, official bodies, municipalities, and especially the Joint Councils ... Finally, it was agreed that the Institute was to be a non-political body.[81]

Yet the Institute's functions and policy objectives were not all that clear cut, particularly during its formative years. For instance, translating into policy the injunction that the Institute be a non-political body, was a point of some debate until a workable formula was adopted in 1935:

> The Institute ... aims at retaining within its membership men and women of all interests, opinions, and affiliations, who accept the ideal of the peaceful adjustment of conflicting national and racial groups upon the basis of respect for the humanity of all men, whatever their nationality or racial origin.[82]

Almost literally, the SAIRR project involved an institutionalization of the various activities of Rheinallt Jones. In a private explanation of the origins of the Institute, written in November 1931, he remarked:

> The Committee [which formed the SAIRR] felt that the situation could best be met by freeing me for the work which I had been doing in my spare time and leave this work to develop before defining its scope and nature. The Institute itself was, for the time, to be merely a name for the Committee to which I was to report from time to time and which was responsible for the funds placed at my disposal.[83]

For Rheinallt Jones and Loram the Institute was more than a means of giving joint councils non-political assistance; it was a means of empire building. In Rheinallt Jones's case it offered considerably more scope for pursuing his various activities and interests than would have been possible under a federal body of joint councils. Pim found the first annual report of the Institute (issued in early 1932), a report of Rheinallt Jones' activities and little

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81. Horton, 'South Africa's Joint Councils', 36.

82. **Race Relations**, 1/43, 'The Policy of the South African Institute of Race Relations', 1943; Whyte Papers, Cb1.1, SAIRR Council Minutes, 9-10 July 1935, 6.

83. JCR, Aa1, Rheinallt Jones to C. Tredgold, 9 November 1931.

else.[84]

After accepting the post of Adviser at the SAIRR, Rheinallt Jones wrote to the IRC tendering his resignation and suggesting two options: either the Council could immediately proceed with the election of a new secretary, or it could defer any action until it had seen how the Institute functioned.[85] Given Rheinallt Jones's position as the de facto leader of the joint councils, it would have been surprising had the Council chosen the first option, particularly as most of the prominent members of the IRC executive were associated with the Institute. Quite simply, there was no-one left on the Council with sufficient seniority and influence to persevere with the IRC.[86] The correct constitutional procedure would have been to refer the fate of the IRC to the full assembly of the joint councils; instead the Council was quietly mothballed.

Rheinallt Jones spent a fair amount of his time during the early 1930s visiting joint councils, helping to establish new ones,[87] and organizing conferences both regional and national. There was, nevertheless, some concern from the Phelps Stokes Fund and Loram in the early 1930s that burgeoning Institute activities were drawing it away from an effective relationship with the joint councils.[88]

In 1932 Brookes resigned his post at the Transvaal University College and joined the staff of the Institute to assist it in becoming largely self-

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84. Whyte Papers, SAIRR Committee Minutes, 19 January 1932, 2.

85. JCR Aa1, Rheinallt Jones to Tredgold, 9 November 1931.

86. Ray Phillips, though not on the Institute committee, had hosted the inaugural meeting of the SAIRR, and Pim in declining health was not in the best position to actively contest the path taken with regard to the joint councils.

87. In 1930 there were 26 councils and three years later the figure had risen to 33, which included a Coloured-European Council in Cape Town. By the end of the decade there were about 40 joint councils. Horton, 'South Africa's Joint Councils', 37.

88. IMC/CBMS, Box 1229, File M, Loram to J.H. Oldham, 8 September, 1930.

funding within South Africa. This meant relinquishing his presidency of the Institute with Hoernle being elected as his successor. From July to December 1933 and then again from April to September 1934, Brookes toured the Union to get subscribing members and donations.[89] He managed to raise a yearly sum which exceeded the American grants,[90] although the Institute continued to draw on American funding. Generating his own salary plus revenue for the Institute involved persuading the joint councils to help in this fundraising drive. Councils were offered ten percent of the funds they helped raise but there is no evidence that they actually received the promised percentage of the spoils. Instead the councils came under pressure to contribute to the Institute's expenses by affiliation and/or donation. The affiliation fee of ten pounds sterling was more than the annual budgets of all but the largest councils.

The Institute appeared on the joint councils' terrain gradually and without much fanfare. The main opposition to its attempts to entrench itself and to its intervention in joint council affairs came from the Cape Peninsula Joint Council (CJC) and a section of the JJC, among which Macmillan, William Ballinger, Margaret Hodgson were prominent in the early 1930s. An uneasiness about the Institute was not, however, confined to these two centres. Hodgson, writing to Winifred Holtby after attending the 1933 European-Bantu Conference, was

> ... encouraged by the discovery that I am not alone in my criticism of the Institute and its methods ... that not only those who feel like us in the matter of policy but people who are really not politically interested, feel that it is wasting its time and can be a real danger to Native advance.[91]

Nothing substantial appears to have been done about co-ordinating this diffuse opposition to the Institute. The only figure who might have undertak-

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89. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage, 48.

90. Ibid.

91. ICU Records, A 924, File 3, Hodgson to Holtby, 16 July 1933.

en such a task was Macmillan. However, his departure for England in late 1933, made it more difficult to challenge the Institute from within the joint council. 'McMillan [sic]', wrote Ballinger, 'has certainly made a mess of things here by resigning his appointment and the left-wing in all parts of this scattered country are in the doldrums'.[92]

Macmillan had taken over the chairmanship of the JJC in 1931, with Pim becoming president[93] and in the face of opposition from a strong and mainly white conservative section had succeeded in persuading the council to take a more assertive line. Opposition to the cautious liberalism of the Institute manifested itself in struggles over policy within the JJC, where Rheinallt Jones still operated as an active member, rather than as open criticism of the Institute.[94]

In late 1932 the issue of the JJC affiliating to the Institute came up for discussion.[95] After some debate, the details of which were not recorded, the Council decided on affiliation.[96] The fact that Macmillan had stepped down from chairman a few weeks before may well have helped swing the vote the Institute's way. Hodgson was so opposed to this move that she and Ballinger contemplated resigning from the JJC in protest.[97]

Following a structural reorganization in mid-1931 a strengthened CJC de-

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92. Holtby Papers, File 10, Ballinger to Holtby, 14 February 1934.

93. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 9 March 1931.

94. 'The Joint Council is passing through a crisis. A few of us are anxious to see it a little more decided in its views and policy. "We" are Mrs Hodgson, Prof McMillan (sic) and myself; at least we are the vanguard. We have got a solid Native backing and general support. J.D.R. Jones complains that Mrs H. and myself are "dragooning the council." Jones has lost touch and is trimming his sails too much. However, as he has no one to whom he is responsible for his actions, he is at liberty to "tack" wherever he cares.' ICU Papers, File 3, Ballinger to Holtby, 9 September 1931.

95. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 10 October 1932.

96. Ibid., 12 December 1932.

97. Holtby Papers, File 11, Hodgson to Holtby, 12 October 1932.

veloped misgivings about the Institute. The SAIRR, said chairman Clarkson Tredgold[98] on behalf of his executive,

> ... appears to have been a spontaneous growth, without any consultation or communication with Joint Councils. I have caused search to be made and can find no trace of any communication having been sent to us. It appears to be a rather local affair, and the Cape Province in which the bulk of the Natives live is scarcely represented. Prof Du Plessis, excellent man that he is, is not even a member of our Society. If it was intended to be a co-ordinating body surely, we [as] the only Joint Council in the Western Province might have been consulted. As secretary up to May of this year I never could quite appreciate what your actual position was![99]

Furthermore, he wanted to know why nothing had been heard of the IRC which the CJC had thought 'would do the co-ordinating work'. He added that the non-political stance of the Institute was of little use to the Council:

> Any fight on behalf of the Natives must be in politics. Discussion of social and economic matters will be educative but won't help the Natives much. I think one of your contentions was that we being at the seat of parliament must watch things on behalf of everybody. What good is this to do if we are not to act in political crises. We need not go in for party politics but franchise, land, and labour are frequent sources of discussion, also the administration of locations.[100]

The Institute probably had this criticism from the joint councils in mind when it began considering the possibility of providing the councils with some form of co-ordinating machinery. Moreover, it made political sense to demonstrate to the Phelps Stokes Fund that the Institute was concerned with the organizational development of the joint councils. Some of the Institute executive also seem to have felt the need to regularize the national organization of joint councils to enable the Institute to deploy its resources in other directions.[101]

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98. See Appendix A for biographical detail.

99. JCR, Tredgold to Rheinallt Jones, 20 October 1931.

100. Ibid.

101. See e.g. Brookes's comments at an SAIRR meeting in early 1933: 'he [Brookes] was coming to feel more and more the necessity of a parallel Joint Council Federal Committee which would initiate discussions and make public pronouncements on grave national questions of a political or semi-political character.' Whyte Papers, Cb1.1, SAIRR Council Minutes, 13-14 January 1933.

Consequently, at the Institute's urging, a Consultative Committee was formed at the 1933 European-Bantu conference to take action on behalf of joint councils.[102] The Committee formally comprised the chairman, secretary and two African members - one from the CJC and the other from the JJC - with a further eight members drawn from other joint councils. The Conference accepted an Institute offer to provide secretarial services for the Committee. The Institute subsequently set aside £50 for one year for use by the Committee and appointed one of its staff members, A. Lynn Saffery as part-time secretary of the Committee.[103]

Although it had on paper a reasonably prominent position on the Consultative Committee, the CJC was unhappy as it felt that this arrangement effectively increased the Institute's control over the joint councils. With the Institute doing secretarial work for both the Consultative Committee and the JJC, it seemed to the CJC executive that the capacity of the JJC to take independent action had been compromised.[104] Both Goodlatte and Tredgold (in separate correspondence with Saffery) questioned the need for the Consultative Committee, which they felt constituted an organization for organization's sake rather than authentic co-ordination.[105] In the first place, there was not the machinery for it to function as a representative body. There was no format as to how consensus was to be achieved or decisions made by those on the Committee. Initial communiques suggested that its agenda was decided by the Institute secretariat and somewhat arbitrarily at that. Secondly, there was a

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102. SAIRR, **3rd Annual Report, 1933**, 47.

103. **Ibid.** Lynn Saffery was secretary of the SAIRR and in the 1930s became increasingly involved in trade union work among Africans. He was friendly with Max Gordon, a Trotskyite trade unionist. See Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 79.

104. 'I personally view with apprehension', said its secretary to Institute employee, Lynn Saffery, 'the extent to which the Johannesburg Joint Council is bound up with the Institute'. JCR, C.R. Goodlatte to Saffery, 5 November 1933.

105. JCR, Ab1, Tredgold to Saffery, 13 November 1933.

sense that its activities were essentially a case of pen-pushing.[106] A further objection was that the Consultative Committee secretariat did not distinguish between local and important national joint council matters. The airing of the Vryheid Joint Council's concern with drunkenness on nearby coalmines was seen as such a case: 'Just consider the absurdity of Vryheid's "drunks" being made a matter for the Consultative Committee!', declared Goodlatte.[107]

From 1934, the locus of opposition shifted, becoming less a defence against SAIRR encroachment - though the CJC still refused to affiliate to the Institute - than an attempt to change or influence Institute policy. For instance, Rev. R. Gordon Milburn,[108] turned to the Institute to promote his idea of an All Races Council, an expanded model of the joint council. He asked for a centre which had an ailing or defunct joint council or native welfare society to which he could devote his remaining three months in South Africa in pursuing this idea. He chose Newcastle for his venture, but was not able to achieve much in this time. His efforts led to the re-establishment of a native welfare society, which he regarded as a waste of time. This body, however, subsequently became a joint council. Also, his efforts led to a debate between himself and the Institute, especially Rheinallt Jones, on policy towards joint councils.[109]

Milburn argued at the outset that an All Races Council would 'serve the general principle of race relations even better than separate councils'. In regard to the question of local concerns of the various African ethnic groups,

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106. See e.g. Tredgold's statement: 'You have sent me a mass of papers dealing with the [1933] Conference at Bloemfontein, and what is the result? a great amount of time wasted, an enormous amount of writing done, and little else.' Ibid.

107. JCR, Goodlatte to Saffery, 5 November 1933.

108. Rev. Milburn was an active member of the Indo-European Joint Council and Native Welfare Society of Pietermaritzburg during 1933-1934. He returned to England at the end of 1935 and became a member of the London Group on African Affairs.

109. William Ballinger Papers, Jagger Library, UCT, BC 347, CS III, 6.1.4, Rev. R.G. Milburn, 'The Joint Councils and Politics'.

the council 'could have separate sub-committees for the practical details'.[110] In a later document he acknowledged the difficulties in the way of such ventures, but maintained that

> ... so much depends upon the presence or absence of the Big Idea - the conception of a common welfare and citizenship of all races in the country - that an attempt must be made to propagate it.[111]

Rheinallt Jones's response was that the All Races Council demanded too much of a small community and was too formal and complex. He stressed the 'backwardness of opinion in the rural towns'[112] and the difficulties of overcoming 'racial prejudices and fear even amongst the Non-European groups in relation to each other'.[113]

Challenges to the Institute during the 1930s represented in part a tension between conservative or establishment liberals clustered around the SAIRR, and a broad 'left liberalism' strongly underpinned by Fabian socialism and related social democratic thought. It is a tension which has been inadequately considered and conceptualized in major studies of South African liberalism. The western Cape as a region had been most influenced by Fabian socialism which had merged with the more traditional currents of Cape liberalism during the 1930s. Lancelot Hogben[114] was an influential person in this process and had stimulated an interest in libertarian socialism by the late 1920s.[115] In 1928 he set up the Rationalist Society in which Julius Lewin became one of

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110. JCR, Milburn to Rheinallt Jones, 19 November 1934.

111. SAIRR Records, B 1.2.5, 'A New South Africa', 1935.

112. JCR, Cn1.1, Rheinallt Jones to Milburn, 28 January 1935.

113. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Milburn, 8 March 1935.

114. Of **Mathematics for the Millions** fame. L. Hogben was a zoology lecturer at UCT during the 1920s. He started the Rationalist Society in 1928 in which Julius Lewin became one of the leading lights.

115. Interviews with Mr B.E. McIntosh, Grahamstown, 7 July 1980; Mr O. Wolheim, Cape Town, 23 March 1983.

the leading lights.[116] Lewin in turn played a leading role in the formation of the Cape Fabian Society during 1929-1930. This Society appears to have become moribund when Lewin left for England in 1933,[117] but was resuscitated in 1939. Lewin had links with the Cape Town Joint Council which had a distinct left-wing with socialist leanings.[118] Outside the Cape, Macmillan, the Ballingers, and Mabel Palmer had strong links with Fabianism. Indeed, Mabel Palmer, was awarded honorary life membership of the Fabian Society in England in 1958, for her lifelong support of Fabianism.[119] Rev. Gordon Milburn too, was influenced by Fabianism as well as Christian socialist practice.[120] The Fabian connection was also manifested in the close ties most of these individuals had with critics of empire in the British labour movement.[121]

The Institute had a divisive effect on liberalism during the 1930s and after. Both institutionally and ideologically it reinforced a tendency to see research, especially that informed by social anthropology, in a positivist light. As Macmillan saw it, a number of philanthropically-minded intellectuals at the time

> ... were inspired particularly by anthropology and by American sociologists, who had begun to think in terms of a quasi-philosophical or psychological 'race conflict' which must be studied before any remedies could be proposed. Among them was my friend, Rheinallt Jones, and probably also Professor and Mrs Hoernle.[122]

Anthropology was a growth area from the 1920s onwards and Loram and

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116. Ibid.

117. C.J. Sansom, 'The British Labour Movement and South Africa, 1918-1955: Labourism in the Imperial Tradition' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 1981), 158.

118. See Pim Papers, B11, Ballinger to Pim, 15 July 1933, for Ballinger's comment on the 'left wingers' on the Council.

119. Human Sciences Research Council, **Dictionary of South African Biography**, IV (Durban, 1981), 445.

120. Interview with Julius Lewin, London, 12 November 1979.

121. Sanson, 'The British Labour Movement'.

122. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 214.

Rheinallt Jones played an important role in promoting it as 'a source of applied knowledge'.[123] Rheinallt Jones, apart from lecturing on a part-time basis in the Bantu Studies Department at Wits from 1927 to 1937, also edited its journal **Bantu Studies.**[124]

In the early 1930s with Loram's assistance and with funds from the USA, the Bantu Studies Department was turned into a fully fledged department under the African languages scholar C.M. Doke.[125] R.F.A. Hoernle, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Witwatersrand and head of the Department of Bantu Studies in the early 1930s, appears to have thrown his weight behind this move. Hoernle, who succeeded Loram as chairman of the SAIRR in 1932, on the latter's move to the United States, maintained the Institute's sponsorship of Bantu Studies. Already in 1930 he and Rheinallt Jones had drawn up a ten-page memorandum which urged the Rockefeller Foundation to support research work in Africa. In this meorandum the Universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town were depicted as pioneering research and teaching in the broad area of Bantu Studies.[126]

A predisposition towards non-controversial and anthropologically-related research was both cause and effect of the closer links which were forged at this time between government policy-makers and administrators, and the more conservative sections of the liberal intelligentsia clustered around the Institute.[127] For instance, Rheinallt Jones devoted much of his time during 1930-1931 to arranging for joint councils to give evidence to the Native

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123. S. Dubow, 'Race, Civilization and Culture', 80.

124. According to Rich, he valued this academic work more seriously than his efforts for the joint councils. Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 58.

125. **Ibid.**

126. Pim Papers, B1 4/123, memorandum to Rockefeller Foundation, 1930.

127. See Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, especially 58-63.

Economic Commission.[128]

Rich argues that there was something of an ideological consensus between the Institute hierarchy and the emerging policy of trusteeship - a reformulation of segregationist policies of the 1920s. Informal attempts to speed up the modernization and eventual disintegration of reserves through the individualization of land and encouragement of progressive Africans could be found in supporting (partly or wholly) state policy regarding development in the reserves. This emphasis meant a shift away from an earlier emphasis on assimilating Africans into western civilization towards one of 'adaption' which was an ideological watchword of the Native Economic Commission Report.[129]

Macmillan from the mid-1920s had battled against the tendency to give anthropology a privileged position in analyses of South African society. The University of Witwatersrand was a key site of struggle in this regard. He opposed the structure of a Bantu Studies programme set up in 1926 and the granting of a lectureship to Rheinallt Jones within this field. The department was created without a History option subject and the resultant governing committee excluded Macmillan, despite his qualification, as he put it, 'to speak on affairs to which I had been the first to call attention' A key issue at stake

> ... was the relative importance to be given history in the now anthropologically-orientated Bantu Studies. It was about whether the African people should be studied in the context of our common human history or to be relegated to a special and inferior category.[130]

Macmillan's department was subsequently starved of research funds while Bantu Studies apparently had no problem in this regard. [131] After Macmillan

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128. In its report the Commission stressed the value of joint councils. UG 22-'32, **Report of the Native Economic Commission 1930-1932**, 99, para 680.

129. Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 58.

130. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 216.

131. **Ibid.**, 215-216.

resigned in 1933 both of his candidates for his chair, Margaret Hodgson, the apparent heir designate, and C.W. de Kiewiet, were passed over in favour of a conservative historian from Pretoria University. Hodgson, who married William Ballinger shortly afterwards, was dismissed from her post on grounds that married women were not accepted for university posts.[132] The Ballingers felt that the Hoernles had been unsupportive of Margaret in both her efforts at promotion and then at securing tenure.[133]

Hodgson's exit from Wits was part of a process of marginalization, whether fully intended or not, by the Institute hierarchy of an informal faction within the joint councils which in Ballinger's words concerned itself 'with the Industrial-Economic conditions of the Natives'.[134] Possibly the first 'casualty' was Mabel Palmer whose applied research work for the Durban Joint Council among other things had convinced her by 1928 of the need for a 'special institution ... for the study of those inter-racial economic contacts which the spread of the Industrial Revolution is making more and more inevitable, more and more intimate in all sections of the world'.[135] In a memorandum aimed at domestic consumption as well as likely foreign donors and sponsors,[136] she proposed a centre at the fledgling Natal University College at Durban which would undertake research, 'instruction and practical training in native administration'. Not only did Natal offer a kind of living laboratory to study various kinds of inter-racial economic contacts, but Durban was 'at not too great a distance from Europe on the one hand and from East

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132. Ibid., 246.

133. Indeed, according to William Ballinger, Winifred Hoernle actively opposed Margaret 'from pique and also venomous spite'. Holtby Papers, File 10, Ballinger to Holtby, 25 October 1933.

134. ICU Papers, A 924, File 3, Ballinger to Holtby, 9 September 1931.

135. William Ballinger Papers, BC 347, E1.11, Memorandum on the need for a special institute for the study of the economics of inter-racial contacts.

136. Her targets included the Carnegie Corporation and the International Labour Organization.

Africa, India and the East on the other' to give an international dimension to this research and training.[137] Although Palmer may have got whiff of the emerging 'culture contact' school of social anthropology while on leave in London during late 1927 and early 1928, her concerns seem to have been considerably wider ranging. The relative novelty of Palmer's project was acknowledged by H.A. Grimshaw of the International Labour Organization who pointed out that despite some interesting work of a generally anthropological nature on 'certain African problems' nowhere, outside this body, were the 'general economic problems' of the Africa and the rest of the colonial world being examined.[138]

Rheinallt Jones was not as supportive of Palmer as she assumed. Indeed, her project probably represented a threat to Rheinallt Jones and Loram's plans to institutionalize the latter's efforts in the realm of 'race relations'. Also, Palmer's approach ran counter to Rheinallt Jones's vested interests in 'orthodox' Bantu Studies. As she stressed in a letter written before the 9 May meeting of the ad hoc committee called by Rheinallt Jones and Loram, it was not

> ... 'Native or Bantu Studies' in the legal or ethnological sense that is so much needed, but a centre for the study of the impact of the Industrial Revolution on Coloured Races in general.[139]

In these circumstances then, it is not surprising that there is no record of Loram and Rheinallt Jones as having done anything to help Palmer secure funds for the Durban project.

The Ballingers, William in particular, were involved in a series of struggles with the Institute during the 1930s in which there was a conflation of the personal and ideological differences of the two parties. Rheinallt

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137. William Ballinger Papers, BC 347 E1.11, Memorandum on the need for a special institute for the study of the economics of inter-racial contacts.

138. JCR, H.A. Grimshaw to Palmer, 5 September 1928.

139. JCR, Cj2.1.9, Palmer to Rheinallt Jones, 5 May 1929.

Jones's interest in African labour and trade union issues during 1927-1928, waned with the formation of the Institute and his adoption of a more conservative line. This revealed itself in JJC matters in the latter part of 1929 and after. Rheinallt Jones appears to have inclined to those on the Council who were unhappy about Ballinger's presence on it and Pim's support of him. There was a 'great row' in the JJC in December because Pim and Ballinger had travelled to Durban to investigate the police raids without consulting the Council.[140]

Given the difficulties of working within the Institute nexus, the Ballingers had to look for some new means of attempting to interrupt a vicious cycle of apathy and growing segregationist social engineering. Their interventions centred on two contiguous fronts: critical development-orientated research in the protectorates and efforts to stimulate co-operative ventures. It was important that the spotlight fall on the protectorates as part of efforts to prevent their incorporation into the Union. Also, a revitalization of the British presence politically and developmentally would provide an ideological counterweight to South Africa's segregationist native policy.[141]

In their work in the 1930s the Ballingers interacted with a group of liberal and social democratic critics of British colonial policy in Africa, most of whom were associated with the London Group on African Affairs (LGAA). Formed in 1930, the LGAA was modelled on joint council lines and was intended to function as a pressure group on British colonial policy in Africa and South African 'inter-racial' matters.[142] It had a strong South African connection

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140. This is discussed in chapter 6.

141. In 1931 Ballinger and Hodgson, accompanied by journalist Leonard Barnes, toured the Protectorates and published two pamphlets on their findings, W.G. Ballinger and M. Hodgson, **Indirect Rule in Southern Africa: No. 1 Basutoland.**; and **No. 2 The Bechuanaland Protectorate** (Lovedale, 1931).

142. Haines, 'Liberalism, Race and Empire: The London Group on African Affairs, 1930-1940' (ICS seminar paper, London University, 1979).

and among its active members during the 1930s was its secretary Livie Noble,[143] Macmillan, Rev. Gordon Milburn, journalist Leonard Barnes, Julius Lewin, and Eleanor Hawarden. The LGAA experience in turn was incorporated into the Fabian Colonial Bureau set up in 1940.[144]

Closely related to the LGAA was a venture aimed at financing William Ballinger's activities in South Africa. With the virtual cessation of funding in the 1930s from the British Labour movement for these activities in South Africa,[145] Winifred Holtby shouldered more responsibility for organizing funds for Ballinger. A formal committee was set up and in 1934 was constituted as the Friends of Africa with London and Johannesburg addresses. Holtby's untimely death the following year robbed this body of some of drive and by the late 1930s the supply of funds to William Ballinger had shrunk.

During 1934-1935 Ballinger turned back to largely African labour matters.[146] However, he made little headway in efforts to form individual African unions on lines similar to the British Transport and General Workers Union.[147] Ironically it was the Institute which proved to be something of a rival in this area. Though Rheinallt Jones maintained his contacts with elements in the Department of Labour who favoured the qualified inclusion of Africans in 'industrial conciliation' legislation, the force behind the Institute's new interest in industrial matters from 1935 onwards was its secretary, A. Lynn Saffery, who worked closely with his friend Max Gordon, a Trotskyite, who had moved up to the Rand in 1935. Gordon had successfully rebuilt the Jo-

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143. Livie Noble had been on the Pretoria Native Welfare Association executive during the 1920s.

144. Sansom, 'The British Labour Movement', chapter 4; C.J. Sanson, 'The Fabian Colonial Bureau and Southern Africa, 1940-1955' (ICS seminar paper, London University, 1978).

145. This was partly because of economic recession and partly because Labour left wingers felt that Ballinger had become too moderate. Sansom, 'The British Labour Movement', 149.

146. Rich, Liberal Conscience, 48.

147. Ibid.

hannesburg African Laundry Union and after a failed strike decided to work within the framework of existing labour legislation in order to win workers' support for the unions.[148]

Although commissioned by the Institute in 1935 and 1938 for research on the wages and working conditions of Africans,[149] William Ballinger's relationship with the Institute establishment, Rheinallt Jones, Hoernle and Saffery in particular, was tense.[150] And by 1939, matters had reached a point where the possibility of any future re-engagement of Ballinger was extremely remote.[151] In early 1940 the Institute Executive ruled out any future co-operation with Ballinger. Brookes registered his opposition to this decision, arguing that the Executive had not displayed sufficient statesmanship, or made adequate allowance for 'human considerations'.[152]

With Margaret Ballinger's election as one of the three MPs representing Africans in the Cape, the offices of the Friends of Africa were shifted to Cape Town where she and William took up residence. Here links were formed with several prominent members of the CJC, namely Douglas Buchanan, an advocate who had represented Tshedi Khama during 1933-34, Donald Molteno, a Cape Town lawyer and one of the MPs representing Cape Africans, and Alan Davis. For the next few years, Buchanan, Molteno and Davis all served as executive office bearers of the Friends of Africa, which constituted a small but distinct ideological counterweight to the SAIRR.

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148. For details on A. Lynn Saffery and M. Gordon's activities see Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 463-464; A. Lynn Saffery, 'African Trade Union and the Institute', **Race Relations**, VIII, 2, 1941; B. Hirson, 'The Reorganization of African Trade Unions in South Africa' (ICS seminar paper, London University, 1977); Sansom, 'The British Labour Movement', chapter 5.

149. Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 48.

150. Sansom, 'The British Labour Movement', 164.

151. See e.g. extracts of letter from Saffery to Margaret Ballinger in Donald B. Molteno Papers, Jagger Library, UCT, BC 587, C1.58, Molteno, et.al. to Saffery, 4 March 1940.

152. SAIRR Records, B 3.13, Brookes to Hoernle, 15 March 1940.

In addition to attempting to isolate certain of the more activist liberals, the Insitute's non-political bias contributed to a self-policing by its hierarchy. Brookes is an illustrative case. During the late 1920s, as we have seen, he had taken a relatively assertive line in the questioning of the erosion of civil liberties. This was a part of his shift away from an explicit advocacy of 'parallel development', a move symbolically sealed by his public recantation of his earlier segregationist views at the 1930 Bantu-European Student Christian Conference.[153] His newly proclaimed progressiveness was modified considerably in practice in the 1930s. As one of the executive members of the Institute, he appears to have accepted the practice of not actively challenging government policy. Indeed, the CJC executive explicitly complained to Rheinallt Jones about a newspaper article Brookes had written which maintained that there had been considerable progress in 'native welfare' since Union and that there were opportunities aplenty to work with the government in shaping administrative and policy matters regarding Africans.[154] This, they suggested, was little more than toadying to 'anybody in any position of authority or patronage connected with native affairs'.[155]

In the early 1930s the Institute, concerned at the way some of joint councils were showing signs of becoming too vigorous critics of government, seems to have begun exploring alternative channels of discrete protest and of influencing African opinion. During this period Rheinallt Jones developed links with businessmen interested in establishing an African newspaper to complement **Umteteli wa Bantu** and at the end of 1931 **The Bantu World** was set up[156] under the editorship of R.V. Selope Thema. There were distinct limits,

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153. Haines, 'Dr Edgar H. Brookes', 34-39; Dubow, **Racial Segregation**, 47-48.

154. **Cape Times**, 'Progress in Native Welfare', 24 November 1932.

155. JCR, Goodlatte to Rheinallt Jones, 2 January 1933.

156. See **Supplement to the The Bantu World**, 24 December 1938.

however, to the willingness of the Institute hierarchy to accommodate African aspirations. This is illustrated by the row between Jabavu and Rheinallt Jones over the latter's position as Chief Pathfinder. This, said Jabavu, who was head of the rival African-run Pioneers, was a sore point with Pioneer supporters who felt their movement was being discriminated against by both the Institute and government officials. Jabavu further indicated that Rheinallt Jones was not being impartial in his position as Adviser to the SAIRR. 'Besides it was difficult for people to see that Mr Jones' activities as Chief Pathfinder were not part of his work under the Institute.'[157] In reply, Rheinallt Jones said if Jabavu pressed the point he 'would have to consider very seriously where his duty lay and whether to serve the Pathfinder movement or the Institute'.[158] In the end both accepted the compromise of a round table conference of the two movements.[159]

During the earlier and mid-1930s the Institute attempted to establish solid links with the Afrikaner intellectual establishment, in the DRC and the universities in particular. A number of these intellectuals were associated with the reworking of Afrikaner nationalism outside the confines of the United Party; their concerns were generally felt to be best accommodated in the 'Purified' National Party of D.F. Malan.[160] They stressed the centrality of group-based allegiances in society and, informed by anthropological perspectives, began to demarcate Africans as constituting separate ethnic units (or even incipient 'nations') rather than as an essentially undifferentiated

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157. Whyte Papers, Cb1.1, SAIRR Council Minutes, 1 July 1932.

158. Ibid.

159. Ibid., 13 January 1933.

160. For a short discussion on developments within Afrikanerdom see Marks and Trapido, Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism, 16-22.

whole.[161] One of the institutional expressions of this emerging discourse was the **Rasserverhoudings Bond van Afrikaners** which was set up in early 1935.[162] However, it was only by 1944 that a coherent native policy came to be enunciated.[163]

Of the Institute hierarchy, Hoernle was perhaps the most interested in maintaining a dialogue with Afrikaner nationalist intellectuals. Indeed, there are signs that by 1934 he had already began considering ways of reshaping liberalism to take more heed of group-based allegiance within society. He felt that his involvement in preparatory committee work for the **Armeblankeskongres** during 1934 had been instructive in this regard. Despite the presence of people of widely diverging ideological positions on racial matters on the committee, there had been 'no real difficulty in coming to a very substantial agreement' on issues such as the extension and development of reserves and a national minimum wage without a colour bar, the earning of which shall constitute 'civilised labour'.[164] While in regard to abstract principles, commented Hoernle, 'one may have little in common with another group, yet when it comes to dealing with particular situations and difficulties we find a very considerable amount of common ground for action'.[165] At a meeting of the Institute Council in January 1935 he circulated a set of proposals for making SAIRR policy more inclusive and to 'allay the misgivings of those who feared that the activities of the [Institute] were directed towards developing closer social relations between the races or tending to break down

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161. See M. Legassick, 'Liberalism, Social Control and Liberation in South Africa' (unpublished paper, c.1979); P. Rich, 'Liberalism and Ethnicity in South African Politics, 1921-1948', **African Studies**, XXXIV, 3/4, 1976, 229-251; J. Sharpe, 'The Roots and Development of "Volkekunde" in South Africa', **Journal of Southern African Studies**, VIII, 1, 1981.

162. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 466.

163. Marks and Trapido, 'The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism', 19.

164. Whyte Papers, Cb1.1, SAIRR Council Minutes, July 1934.

165. **Ibid.**

social barriers which many considered should be maintained'.[166]. He suggested inter alia that the Institute declare that it was

> ... not concerned to break down any social barriers which different racial groups, by mutual desire, seek to maintain between themselves. But, it is concerned to prevent the exclusiveness of one group hampering the free development of another, and when this danger arises, recommends the provision of parallel facilities and opportunities of equal scope for both groups.[167]

Hoernle's suggestions were voted down 11 to 7, with the majority, which included Rheinallt Jones and Brookes, favouring a policy which did not commit the Institute 'to any particular solution of inter-racial problems'. Hoernle's advocacy of parallelism came in for particular criticism.[168]

Efforts at cultivating (or retaining) a relatively significant white constituency had to be measured against a need to keep the Institute in the forefront of liberal activities. This structural tension can be seen in the Institute's response to the Hertzog Bills in the early and mid-1930s.

In late 1929, on the eve of his departure for the USA, in a confidential note to people concerned with the defence of the Cape franchise, Rheinallt Jones stressed that the South African Party's opposition to Hertzog's Native Bills had weakened sufficiently to bring a two-thirds majority well within Hertzog's grasp. It was crucial that opponents of the Franchise Bill 'organize closely' and that steps be taken by the Equal Franchise Association (the NRFA presumably) 'to canvas opinion in all the Provinces likely to support the central principle of equal citizenship rights'. At the same time discussions regarding any 'second line of defence' should continue but with the utmost secrecy 'to avoid any suggestion of a weakening of our forces'. In addition, J.H. Hofmeyr was to be encouraged to lobby within the select

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166. **Ibid.**, January 1935.

167. **Ibid.**, SAIRR 89/34, Memorandum on Institute Policy.

168. **Ibid.**, Cb1.1, SAIRR Council Minutes, January 1935.

committee and parliament for a reconsideration of the assumption that the Cape franchise had to go and for a recognition of the need to consult Africans before any measure was tabled.[169]

Rheinallt Jones seems to have lost this sense of urgency in the early 1930s and appears to have done little behind the scenes to shore up the NRFA which was ailing by 1932.[170] Perhaps he thought it would open a can of worms if the CJC was encouraged to help revive the NRFA. More significantly, when the JJC under Macmillan's chairmanship raised the issue of the Bills being discussed behind the closed doors of a commission without any attempt 'to secure Native agreement and goodwill',[171] no covert support was forthcoming from the Institute. On the contrary, Macmillan's efforts to force a public airing of the Bills was attacked by Brookes.[172] With his departure in 1933, the slack was not taken up by his successors on the JJC or by any of the other joint councils. Discussion of the Native Bills and the need to respond to the parliamentary threat to the Cape franchise was not on the agenda of the 1933 European-Bantu conference organized largely by the Institute for the joint councils.[173] Despite the establishment of the Consultative Committee of the Joint Councils at this conference, its operations, as we have seen, was left in the hands of the Institute secretariat. In effect then, given the rudimentary state of communication between joint councils and the increasing tendency for the Institute rather than the JJC to give the lead to the councils, it was difficult for individual joint councils to activate this machin-

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169. Rheinallt Jones Papers, Africans, Native Franchise 1929, Memorandum, n.d.

170. Interview with Julius Lewin, London, 12 November 1979.

171. William Ballinger Papers, BC 347, C2.5.2, Chairman of JJC (Macmillan) to Minister of Native Affairs (Jansen), 20 October 1932.

172. Brookes was chairman of the SAIRR in the early 1930s.

173. JCR, Ac6.10, Report of the Fifth National European-Bantu Conference, Bloemfontein, 4-6 July, 1933 (Johannesburg, 1933).

ery outside of a formal conference of joint councils.

While not tying the Institute in with any 'assertive' protest on the part of joint councils and seemingly not keen on the development of a central organization to foster opinion on this and related matters, Rheinallt Jones did make some effort to keep key Africans, especially in the Institute-joint council nexus, involved in the defence of the Cape franchise. Working with Jabavu he tried to limit the damage inflicted by John Dube's promotion of a scheme of Heaton Nicholls during 1930-1931. This involved the exchange of the Cape franchise for land (in addition to that already scheduled for release and some development funds). African political figures such as Selope Thema, Selby Msimang and T.M. Mapikela[174] had signed a document touted by Dube and thus endorsing the latter's efforts.[175]

Hertzog's revamped bills were gazetted in April 1935. On 20 May, after canvassing the views of prominent Cape liberals as well as Major Herbst of the NAD, the Institute executive formally defined its position. Firstly, the state would be urged to consult Africans nationwide by means of a large conference and take due cognizance of their reactions. Secondly, the joint councils and related bodies would be requested to hold their fire until the government had gauged African opinions.[176]

George Findlay of the PJC[177] and James Rose-Innes[178] were particularly

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174. A member of the Bloemfontein Joint Council. See Appendix A.

175. On the circumstances surrounding this affair see S. Marks, 'The Ambiguities of Dependence: John L. Dube of Natal', **Journal of Southern African Studies** I, 2, 1975, 176-179; Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation', 179-83; Haines, 'The Opposition', 127-130; Haines, 'Reflections on African Protest'.

176. The idea that white sympathizers should hold their fire until after a Union-wide conference of Africans called under the 1920 Act and do nothing to give the Government the excuse of saying that whites had come between the Government and the Africans, came perhaps surprisingly from Cape liberal Senator F.S. Malan. Whyte Papers, Cb1.1, SAIRR Executive Committee Minutes, 20 May 1935.

177. '... I cannot interest myself in fascist contrivances or lend myself to the process'. SAIRR Records, B 100(a), G. Findlay to Rheinallt Jones, 5 July 1935.

178. At that time on the Executive Committee of the SAIRR.

critical of this approach by the Institute arguing that its studied neutrality would inhibit vigorous and concerted action by progressive whites. Commenting on a draft Institute memorandum on the Representation Bill, Rose-Innes said:

> I have for some time feared that our Institute, in its endeavour to rope in all sections of opinion, may be a little in danger of becoming all things to all men.... I do not think that at any stage of this contest we shall set out to be impartial. That implies that the basis of the bills is not wholly bad - I think it is. Do you really think that you are going to do any good by dealing gently with Pirow and Co.?[179]

In the months after the publication of the bills, much of the Institute's attention was channelled into respectful lobbying of the government, the NAD in particular, to call a conference for Africans to respond to the measures. Rather than a large national conference, the government decided to consult Africans on an ad-hoc basis through regional gatherings.[180] These were only scheduled for September. The August edition of the Institute's journal carried 'objective and impartial' analyses of the Bills, which had been submitted to the NAD for vetting.[181] D.L. Smit, the new secretary of the NAD since 1934, wanted publication postponed till after the regional conferences. Rheinallt Jones felt this course would strain the Institute's credibility with certain joint councils.[182]

In fact the CJC had already announced its dissatisfaction with the vagueness of Saffery's communiques as secretary of the Consultative Committee and declared in late August that it would be pushing ahead with open opposi-

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179. SAIRR Records, B 100(a), J.R. Rose-Innes to Brookes, 15 July 1935.

180. Haines, 'The Opposition', 166.

181. **Race Relations**, August 1935.

182. Rheinallt Jones Papers, File E (Legislation), Rheinallt Jones to D.L. Smit, 20 August 1935: 'a further delay in publishing the Memoranda would bring the Institute into a serious clash with Joint Councils'.

tion to the Bills.[183] This would involve lobbying MPs. In reply Rheinallt Jones suggested a conference between the joint councils 'at a fairly early date' with Saffery making the necessary arrangements.[184] The Consultative Committee stalled in this regard and it was only in early December, following a call from the Methodist Church, that steps were taken to organize a conference of joint councils and other and other liberally-inclined bodies.[185]

Eventually arrangements were made through the Consultative Committee working with the CJC for a conference of protest on the bills. This took place on 29-30 January 1936 in Cape Town, and apart from joint council participation, a variety of church and community bodies, some trade unions and leftwing groups were represented. A number of African quasi-political groupings were also represented. The majority of delegates were whites. The AAC and the ANC did not participate, presumably because the organizers thought it tactically advantageous to present the gathering as representing the strength of white opposition to the Bills.

The conference elected a Continuation Committee which included the bulk of the CJC executive: Sir James Rose-Innes, Rheinallt Jones and his wife, two members of the National Council of Women and a certain Rev B.J. Mvambo of the Methodist Church. The Continuation Committee had the power to co-opt further members. The standpoint of the conference and this Committee was that the principle of the common roll should be inviolate though it was conceded that provision might have to be made to allay white fears by raising the

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183. Ibid., File E, Tredgold to Rheinallt Jones, 7 August 1935; JCR, Cc1.1, Molteno to Rheinallt Jones, 27 August 1935.

184. Rheinallt Jones Papers, File E, Rheinallt Jones to Molteno, 30 August 1935.

185. During the last two months of 1935 the Institute hierarchy was under heightened pressure to respond to what Rev. Cragg of the Methodist Missionary Society termed the 'rising tide of concern' with the Bills. Something more assertive had to be done by organizations opposed to the measures, said Cragg, other than passing resolutions which 'generally find their way into the Departmental W.P.B.' It was imperative that large protest meetings be organized in the main centres of the Union. Rheinallt Jones Papers, A.W. Cragg to Rheinallt Jones, 21 November 1935.

voting qualifications, a more subtle form of political segregation. Although there is no evidence of common strategy, the Continuation Committee kept in touch with the AAC executive and paid the expenses of some of its members to stay in Cape Town to continue their campaign against the Franchise Bill. The Committee appear to have shored up the defence of some members of the latter body, who were tempted to accept compromise amendments to the Representation Bill posed on separate occasions by Hertzog and certain Eastern Cape MPs.[186] Partly because of a donation of £500 from a Johannesburg stockbroker (Col. Donaldson) the Committee were able to wage a relatively comprehensive campaign against the legislation.[187]

One suspects that Hoernle and Rheinallt Jones got caught up in the fervour of the campaign against the Franchise Bill. Though both sought to depict their involvement as something they were doing in their personal capacities and as members of bodies other than the Institute, they seem to have tacitly put the non-political discourse of the SAIRR on hold. Out of the two, it seems that Hoernle was more emotionally involved.[188]

Hertzog's introduction of the compromise franchise bill on 17 February 1936[189] helped pull a number of wavering MPs back into line and also opened differences among the joint councils on the issue. Some of the councils, or individual members on them, refused to sign a draft manifesto of protest[190] which came out under the auspices of the Consultative Committee of Joint Councils. Brookes was one of those who declined to sign the manifesto arguing disingenuously that 'the "Compromise" has the advantage of being much more

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186. For a discussion of the AAC negotiations with Hertzog and the eastern Cape MPs see Haines, 'The Opposition', 215-227.

187. SAIRR Records, B 100(e), Hoernle to Rheinallt Jones, 3 February 1936.

188. Haines, 'The Opposition', 227, 242-244, 249-253.

189. Davenport, **South Africa: A Modern History**, 313-314.

190. Largely Hoernle's handiwork.

easily extended to the Protectorates and the other Provinces, and of permitting later the throwing open of Parliament to Bantu members'.[191]

By the end of February Rheinallt Jones, who had remained in Cape Town, feeling that the passage of the Franchise bill was inevitable, argued that the Institute should be brought back into the attack by seeing 'that every possible effort is made to improve the Bill'.[192] He asked for the help of the Johannesburg group in this regard but only Hoernle was prepared to give any thought to this matter: Schreiner and Ramsbottom felt that devising amendments to the Compromise bill was a pointless exercise.[193] Working with some of the Cape Town committee, Rheinallt Jones lobbied MPs but with little success.[194] There was, however, very little in the way of opposition to the passage of the Land Bill from any extra-parliamentary grouping.[195]

The muted response to the Land Act was symptomatic of a reassertion of the welfare-orientated role of the Institute. Both Rheinallt Jones and Brookes, although the latter was not quite as closely involved with the Institute policy since his move to Natal, grasped the opportunities for working within the segregated political structures set up under the Representation Act. In 1937, both stood for and were elected to special senatorships, Brookes in Natal and Rheinallt Jones in the Transvaal/OFS constituency.

It is a touch too simplistic to take Rich's line[196] in presenting the Institute's approach in the late 1930s as essentially concerned with smoothing the application of government segregation policy. Part of this interpretation

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191. SAIRR Records, B 100(a), Brookes to Rheinallt Jones, 24 February 1936.

192. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Hoernle, 27 February 1936.

193. **Ibid.**, Hoernle to Rheinallt Jones, 27 February 1936.

194. Haines, 'The Opposition', 252-253.

195. **Ibid.**, 250.

196. Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, 63-66 especially.

hinges on the argument that the Institute consciously entered into dialogue, and by implication an alliance of interest, with G. Heaton Nicholls,[197] the MP for Northern Natal and Zululand, an influential member of the Native Affairs Commission and a leading protagonist of segregation. An important reason for their contact with him after the passage of the Bills, was to try to moderate his views of the SAIRR and joint councils, and to keep him from queering the pitch in their dealings with the Native Affairs Department - especially its head, D. Smit, with whom Hoernle and Rheinallt Jones enjoyed a friendly working relationship.[198]

In addition, Rich somewhat underplays the more progressive features of Institute work. For one, Saffery's work with Gordon in attempting to revive African trade unionism, while carried out within the confines of existing legislation, had an urban thrust which ran counter to the reserve-orientated application of trusteeship. Also, by the end of the decade, there were pressures from a number of a younger generation of progressive whites, such as Julius Lewin (returned from the UK), and Jack Simons, for the Institute to take a more critical line vis-a-vis government segregation policy.[199]

The fact that the Institute was home to more diverse liberal opinion in the late 1930s was partly a reflection of the declining significance, on a national scale, of the joint councils. With dwindling opposition within their ranks to the nature of the Institute's operations and expansion, the idea grew that they were ultimately under SAIRR control. And time lent due respectability to the less-than-savoury circumstances of the Institute's inception. Younger and more assertive liberal or progressive whites began to

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197. See Appendix A for biographical details.

198. SAIRR Records, B 3.8, Hoernle to Rheinallt Jones, 10 May 1936, 'We ought not to let the case go by default, if only because it makes it harder for Smit et.al. to work with us'.

199. Interview with Julius Lewin, London, 12 November 1979; and see e.g. J. Simons, 'Disabilities of the Native', **Race Relations**, VI, 2, 1939.

see the Institute, despite its non-political stance, as a forum for the expression of their ideas. Regional conferences replaced national gatherings of joint councils and the question of federation became little more than a matter ritually raised on these occasions. Symptomatic of this process was the way in which the Institute's secretarial service to the Consultative Committee of the Joint Councils took on a proprietorial function: by 1940 SAIRR communiques were referring to 'the Institute of Race Relations Consultative Committee of Joint Councils'.[200]

The greater diversity of liberal and progressive thought within the Institute notwithstanding, broad Institute policy still bore the stamp of Rheinallt Jones and Hoernle.[201] The latter, especially from 1936 onwards, began developing a far-reaching assessment of the nature and prospects of liberalism in South Africa. This critique was conditioned by a growing belief that South Africa was a caste society and that the spread of fascism in Europe and the concomitant intolerance of liberal practice, had direct parallels in South Africa. The Institute's dwindling links with the Afrikaans establishment and its falling Afrikaans membership was 'a sign of the times':

> I am afraid that the real Afrikaners (F.S. Malan, Marquard etc. are not the real sort ...) will take part in no organization which they do not control and run according to their special ideas. We are to them wrong-headed ... the day of the liberal and humanitarianism is past... The Afrikaners are totalitarians at heart; and as their totalitarianism claims to be necessary to the protection of the White race, White power, White civilization against the Native danger, it will in the end absorb the bulk of English S.A. into itself.[202]

Hoernle never adequately extrapolated his anxieties about the realities of intolerance among Afrikaners. He did not, for instance, explore the question of how ethnic pluralism could accommodate liberalism. He seemed to

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200. JCR, Aa3.23, Suggestions for Activities of Joint Councils, 1940.

201. Interview with Julius Lewin, London, 12 November 1979.

202. SAIRR Records, B 3.8, Hoernle to Rheinallt Jones, 7 October 1936.

accept rather than problematize 'race' and 'culture' as largely interchangeable categories. To Oxford classicist and liberal Gilbert Murray, Hoernle wrote:

> The practice of liberality within a group, is one thing, if the members of the group are homogeneous in blood (by which I do not mean certain modern race theories, but merely that they practise inter-marriage freely) and in culture, and it is another thing, when the population of a country is extremely heterogeneous in both these respects.[203]

In the Phelps Stokes lectures of 1939 he argued that there were three possible alternatives for the future pattern of race relations in South Africa: parallelism, assimilation and total separation, 'each of which might claim the support of liberal-minded men'.[204] He personally could only see separation as the liberal's choice, but even so, realized that this was not practical and offered 'no ultimate hope for the liberal spirit'.[205] Despite this nihilistic conclusion, he took his fellow liberals to task in the early 1940s, for failing to fashion a strategy which would lead to an open society.

> In the present day South African world [he wrote D.L. Smit in 1941] there is not, in my opinion, any hope or prospect of the realization, under the leadership of the white castes, of the abolition of racial castes. But I fail to see how those liberals who, for this reason, avoid, or refuse, or give up, the effort to think out the application of liberal principles in some kind of social structure without racial castes, are really serving the cause of their principles most effectively. It seems to me that, thereby, they allow the upholders of an illiberal theory and practice to win the contest by default. They confine their efforts - in fact, if not by intention - to ambulance work within the caste society ... and they shut their eyes to, or else simply remain unaware of, this fact.[206]

It is not without irony that Hoernle's agonizings were in part a reflection of the ways in which the Institute of Race Relations venture verified the dealings between white liberals and sectors of the African petty bourgeois

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203. R.F.A. Hoernle Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, Hoernle to G. Murray, 9 May 1938.

204. R.F.A. Hoernle, **South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit** (Cape Town, 1939), 158.

205. **Ibid.**, 178.

206. D.L. Smit Papers, Albany Museum, Grahamstown, 25/41, Hoernle to Smit, 27 November 1941, enclosing a memorandum entitled 'Reflections on the Racial-Caste Society of the Union'.

elite, as well as the growing marginalization of the joint councils in the making of liberal theory. Hoernle addressed himself essentially to whites in discussing the future of liberalism. Little consideration was given to the actual or potential role of Africans in this regard. Implicitly, he took the line that the traditional notion of liberalism as a 'civilizing' force foundered on the rocks of 'race' and 'culture', which were seen as immutable. Whatever Hoernle's misgivings about 'ambulance work' he does not appear to have been unduly worried about working within the Institute and accepted with enthusiasm the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the citizen force section of the Army Education Service,[207] a body which provided **inter alia** relatively progressive cultural and educational propaganda and instruction for South African troops.

Serious questioning of the Institute's role and functions came from other quarters. In 1939, the Friends of Africa (FOA) Executive Committee, spearheaded by Molteno and Buchanan, began pressing the SAIRR to resume dealings with Ballinger and following the Institute's refusal in 1940 to co-operate with the FOA in promoting co-operative ventures among Africans, the executive of the latter body insisted that the Institute clarify its supposedly non-political stance. If it was non-political 'in the sense of refraining from challenging contemporary Union Native policy and raising fundamental issues in relation thereto', they wanted an undertaking that it would cease its activities in the political field such as the organizing and advising of such bodies as trade unions, co-operatives, joint councils and African political organisations.[208] It does not appear that a satisfactory response was received. At a meeting of the Council of the Institute in early 1941, Buchanan and Molteno, in their capacity as Institute members suggested that

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207. Interview with Dr. E.G. Malherbe, Salt Rock, 6 June 1980. Malherbe was the commanding officer of the wartime Army Education Service.

208. Donald Molteno Papers, C1.58, Friends of Africa Committee to Saffery, 4 March 1940.

the Institute should gear itself to take political action.[209] The matter was not debated in Council, but at a subsequent meeting of the Institute Executive it was decided that the Cape Town section of the SAIRR Executive should explore the possibility of forming a Civil Liberties Association and that the full Executive keep in close touch with the Racial Contacts Committee, a Cape Town body which provided a forum for the representatives of various pressure groups to meet.[210] The Institute Executive subsequently qualified these decisions by recommending that the 1935 policy statement be reconfirmed.[211] The Institute Council obliged accordingly.[212] In late 1942 Buchanan took a more confrontationist line, challenging the Institute to declare explicitly whether it was apolitical and, by implication, supportive of segregationism, or whether it stood 'for a truly democratic society'. If the latter was the case, the SAIRR should amalgamate with the Friends of Africa and the Cape Central Committee on Race Contacts. If insisted on its non-political status, it should 'leave the responsibility for dealing with daily issues of race contacts and conflicts' to more progressive bodies such as the Friends of Africa and the Cape Central Committee, 'which had defined their objectives'.[213] The Institute dismissed these proposals as essentially an impertinent attempt by the Friends of Africa group to take over a much larger and financially solid organization.[214]

The debate on Buchanan's proposals meshed with a consideration of a letter from Dr. A.B. Xuma, the president general of the ANC, in which clarifi-

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209. Whyte Papers, Cb1.1, SAIRR Council Minutes, 21 January 1941.

210. **Ibid.**, Executive Committee Minutes, 23 January 1941.

211. **Ibid.**, 8 March 1941.

212. **Ibid.**, Council Minutes, 22 January 1942.

213. **Race Relations**, 1/43. The Policy of the South African Institute of Race Relations, 1943, 1-2.

214. Comments by Hoernle, **ibid**,, 11-13; interview with Julius Lewin, London, November 1979.

cation was requested regarding the Institute's position on the pass laws, the registration and recognition of trade unions, and the segregationist policy of the state. When Rheinallt Jones finally replied to Xuma's letter, he evaded the question of the Institute's stance on official segregationist policy, and stressed its 'non-political' line and its contribution 'in many directions' to 'efforts for progressive reforms and development'.[215]

The ANC's criticisms of the Institute partly incorporated Xuma's first hand views of the Institute's hierarchy as a senior member of the JJC.

> We do not see any justification [he wrote to Hoernle in 1939] for the Institute controlling either our private or national life. Its desperate attempt to link itself with government departments on schemes that we do not consider to be in our best interest and development in its activities ... We neither desire nor invite paternal protection from the Institute. The Institute, we believe, and expect it, to be merely a fact-finding body and leaving the application of such information to the logically qualified organizations and leaders of the people concerned.[216]

It was Rheinallt Jones with whom Xuma and others were particularly concerned. Rheinallt Jones had the time and resources to move around the country and intervene in a range of African petty bourgeois socio-political matters. The informal alliances of interest he developed with local petty bourgeois groupings in a number of centres, were seen as undercutting efforts at achieving greater political unity amongst this class. Furthermore, Rheinallt Jones and Edith - 'Ma and Pa Jones' to quote a popular and less-than-flattering epithet for them - managed to establish a presence within a wide range of agencies and bodies which intervened in the social and political lives of Africans and other blacks. By and large, the interventionism of the Rheinallt Jones's, although quite extensive, was not all that focused: it was perhaps less manichean as meddlesome. It is worth noting in this regard that Rheinallt Jones was known to his colleagues as Committee Jones.

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215. Cited Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 475.

216. A.B. Xuma Papers, ABX390605, Xuma to Hoernle, 7 June 1939.

ONCLUSION

This chapter has suggested that the institutional structures, through hich liberal or philanthropic activities are undertaken, are among the main terminants of liberal ideology. The advent of the Institute represented a hift from part-time voluntary efforts in 'race relations' to more professional ventures funded on a systematic, albeit limited basis. The registration f the Institute as a non-profit corporation in 1935 was indicative of this hift. The 'need' to perpetuate the Institute, an imperative not unlike that nderpinning individual firms in the business world, developed a life of its wn.

It has been argued that the development and formation of the Institute ccurred at the expense of the joint councils: the organizational consolidaion of the councils was inhibited and funds which had been originally eararked for them were appropriated by the SAIRR. Furthermore, the expansion nd maintenance of the Institute resulted in potential sources of funding for he joint councils being allocated to the former. The affiliation fee that he Institute urged on the councils constituted a drain on most if not all hose councils who opted for it. We have seen too how the views of leading hite liberals such as Brookes and Rheinallt Jones became more conservative llowing their involvement in the Institute. Furthermore, the formation of he Institute effectively inhibited the development of a more activist liberlism within the councils and contributed to the marginalization of more rogressive forces within and without these bodies.

The SAIRR did not develop a significant African constituency. It relied n part on the joint councils to achieve this, but failed to provide appropriate support in this direction. The Institute hierarchy, Rheinallt Jones in articular, did involve themselves in essentially **ad hoc** attempts to 'guide' frican petty bourgeois protest politics, but their more primary concern ppears to have been the extension of the organization's constituency among

whites and the state.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE LIMITS OF EXPANSION, 1930-1939

The early and mid-1930s saw a growth in the numbers and kinds of joint councils. However, this was not an unconsolidated expansion and by the end of the decade prospects were distinctly less rosy. This downturn in fortunes should not be unproblematically ascribed to increasing African political disillusionment in the wake of the 1936 Native Bills.[1] Organizational matters were also important in determining the fortunes of joint councils during this decade. A related argument is that some of the African members, as in the previous decade, saw the joint councils as but one of the channels for pursuing their interests.

The numbers of joint councils increased progressively during the first half of the 1930s. At the end of 1930 there were officially 26 joint councils and native welfare societies. This figure increased from 32 in 1932 to 35 in 1934, and to 37 by late 1935.[2] Figures for the later 1930s are not available.[3] While a few new joint councils had been established, several became defunct in the period 1938-1940.[4] The Indo-European format was continued with in the 1930s. In late 1930 there were three Indo-European councils; Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg but, by 1936 both the Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg councils had 'suffered an eclipse'.[5] In 1933 the first

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1. This is the impression created by J. Horton in his short account of the joint councils, 'South Africa's Joint Councils'.

2. JCR, Ab2, **Joint Council News**, CC2\35, 1935, 2; SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Reports** for this period.

3. Horton estimates that 40 joint councils existed by the beginning of the Second World War. Horton, 'South Africa's Joint Councils', 37.

4. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1940.

5. **Ibid.**, 1936, 38.

Coloured-European council was established in Cape Town.[6]

The joint council movement also had an impact beyond the borders of South Africa. By the end of 1933 there were four native welfare societies in Southern Rhodesia,[7] of which two, Salisbury and Bulawayo were very active in the mid- and late-1930s. In England, the joint council 'connection' shaped two ventures. The first was the Joint Council for better understanding between European and Coloured Races in Great Britain. This Quaker-sponsored organization was formed between 1929-1930, with an important input from Howard Pim.[8] Among the leading members was H.S.L. Polak, a member of NAST, supporter of Mahatma Ghandi and friend of Pim's in prewar South Africa. The Council was not particularly active and ceased operations in 1935.[9] More dynamic was the London Group on African Affairs, which was formed in 1931 at a meeting attended by Rheinallt Jones. It was partly modelled on the joint councils and had affiliations with leading joint councils and the SAIRR.[10]

Back in South Africa, Rheinallt Jones, as Adviser to the Institute, was in a position to put more effort into the establishment and maintenance of joint councils than he had been able to do in the 1920s. Brookes, during 1932-1933, and later Saffery, as full-time employees were able to complement Rheinallt Jones's work. However, by the end of the decade, the time Institute personnel devoted to joint council matters had waned discernibly. The bulk of the first SAIRR annual report dealt with joint councils; in the 10th

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6. **Ibid.**, 1933, 52.

7. **Ibid.**, 1932, 16.

8. Society of Friends Archives, Friends House, London, Papers on Coloured Question 1929-1936, Colour Bar Committee 1929-1931: File containing Committee Minutes on Conference on Colour Bar, 12 December 1929; Committee Minutes, 18 December 1930.

9. **Ibid.**, Executive Committee Meeting, 25 April 1935.

10. See Haines, 'Liberalism, Race and Empire'.

annual report the councils warranted only a few paragraphs.[11]

The 1930s was a time of considerable political and economic change for South Africa. Severe economic recession and drought during the early 1930s led to extensive pressures for a government of national unity. In 1933 the National Party and the South African Party entered into an electoral coalition and in the following year fused to form the United Party.[12] Opponents to fusion in the National Party broke away to form the Gesuiwerde (Purified) Nasionale Party.[13] According to Yudelman, the South African state came of age during 1933-1939 with the turning point the dramatic rise in the gold price between 1933-1934. This fuelled large-scale social and economic interventions, similar to those occurring in advanced capitalist states during this time. The relationship between the state and organized labour tilted decisively in favour of the former.[14] Through use of its vastly increased revenue the fusion government virtually ended white poverty and unemployment by the end of the decade, pursuing programmes of industrial diversification and expansion of the civil service.

Implicit in Hertzog's acceptance of 'fusion' was that the South African Party should support his 'native' bills. Despite personal misgivings, Smuts acquiesced in the legislative abolition of the Cape franchise. A small minority of MPs, including cabinet minister J.H. Hofmeyr, voted against the franchise bill. With the heightened recognition of the relative powerlessness of liberals within the United Party, there were pressures for the formation of a liberal party with Hofmeyr at the helm. Hofmeyr demurred, however, prefer-

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11. See SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1939, 31-32.

12. For a detailed assessment for motives behind fusion see A.D. Turrel, 'The South African Party, 1932-1934: The Movement towards Fusion' (MA thesis, University of Natal, 1977) and Lacy, **Working for Boroko**.

13. Davenport, **South Africa: A Modern History**, 308.

14. Yudelman, **Emergence of Modern South Africa**, 256.

ring to work within the United Party.[15]

Despite the unsuccessful defence of the Cape franchise, white liberals in the joint councils and the SAIRR nexus, as well as the majority of the African political elite, were inclined to use rather than to boycott the structures created by the 1936 Representation of Natives Act. Most of the Africans who were elected to the Native Representative Council (NRC) were or had been associated with the joint councils.[16] A number of the white parliamentary representatives of the Africans had been or were members of joint councils.[17] In the late 1930s and early 1940s at least, there was still some optimism about the usefulness of these structures. In 1941, Julius Lewin remarked, '[t]he Native Representative Act of 1936 has in practice worked out much better than anyone anticipated.'[18]

African militancy in urban centres was inhibited by the intensification of state repression, the effects of economic recession, and a self-destructiveness among black political movements and the CPSA.[19] The formation of the League of African Rights, a popular front movement set up in 1929 with J. Gumede[20] as President, was seen by the ANC conservative establishment as challenging the Congress's position as the pre-eminent African political organiza-

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15. A. Paton, **Hofmeyer**.

16. Among the twelve elective members of the NRC were Selope Thema, A.M. Jabavu, Mapikela, W.D. Nhlovu, John Dube (Natal), R.H. Godlo and A.J.Sililo (Natal). See Haines, 'The Opposition', 271-273.

17. In the elections for the Senate, Rheinallt Jones took the Transvaal-OFS constituency, and Edgar Brookes the Natal seat. W.T. Welsh and G.H. Malcomess, who took the Transkei and Cape Province senatorships respectively, had no direct links with the joint councils. In the three Cape parliamentary seats, the successful candidates were Margaret Ballinger (eastern Cape circle), the little known and moderate G.K. Hemming (Transkei) and Donald Molteno (western Cape circle).

18. **The Forum**, 6 September 1941.

19. For information on the fortunes of the CPSA see Simons and Simons, **Class and Colour in South Africa**, 438-461; Roux, **Time Longer than Rope**, 255-269.

20. J. Gumede was President-general of the ANC from 1927 to 1930.

tion.[21] ANC conservatives, determined to protect the respectability of their organization, viewed Gumede's leftist leanings with displeasure. Gumede's acceptance of presidency of the League, coupled to his flirtation with the CPSA, resulted in the election of Pixley Seme as the new ANC president in 1930.[22] Seme's presidency contributed to organizational disarray and declining membership. Insofar as he and his supporters presented any coherent strategy, it involved wooing the chiefs, who were increasingly dependent on the goodwill of the authorities, and trying to use Congress infrastructure as a means of mobilizing savings to promote petty business interests.[23] Only in the late 1930s was there a turn-around in the ANC's fortunes.

The reaction of the African political elite to Hertzog's segregation bills was not all that effective.[24] While the AAC was formed to present a united front to the legislation, the establishment politicians were reluctant to boycott the new institutions, a move urged by 'Coloured' left wingers from the Cape. Instead, the AAC and its constituent bodies returned to time-worn 'respectful' tactics of protest. The elections for the NRC appeared to have hindered the organization and development of more assertive tactics of protest.[25] Conservatives held sway in the AAC till the war. The Convention's policies, despite a greater recognition of broad socio-economic matters, were

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21. Simons and Simons, **Class and Colour in South Africa**, 417-425; Roux, **Time Longer than Rope**, 226-227.

22. On the takeover of the ANC by more conservative elements see Walshe, **The Rise of African Nationalism**, 175-181; Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 35.

23. See T. Lodge, **Black Protest in South Africa since 1945**, (Johannesburg 1985), 10-11.

24. For a discussion of the opposition of the African political elite to the Native Bills see Haines, 'The Opposition'.

25. A meeting of the AAC Executive was a disillusioning experience for R.H. Godlo, a prominent member of the East London Joint Council: 'As to the meeting of the Executive [he wrote to Xuma], I regret to say that, from my point of view, it was a failure and a fiasco. We seem to lack political acuity. We fail to see the wood for the trees. The stage was well set for the Executive to have distinguished itself in political manoeuvres to the discomforture of the State. However, the leaders concentrated on the election instead of developing a sound policy for the Organization.' Xuma Papers, ABX 370127b, 27 January 1937.

still worked out within the framework of Cape liberalism.[26] Though African political organizations were still in a weakened state after 1936, the pre-conditions for more assertive strategies had been established by the late 1930s.

A significant growth in the numbers of urban Africans had a range of effects. For one it provided a larger potential constituency for working class and petty bourgeoisie social and political movements. There was also a slow improvement in the general economic conditions of urban Africans,[27] which led to a small but noticeable growth of the African petty bourgeoisie.[28] There was also a growing class confidence among the African petty bourgeoisie with less recourse being made to progressive whites. Graduates from Fort Hare University were beginning to strengthen the ranks of the African intelligentsia, mainly in the larger urban centres such as Durban and Johannesburg.[29]

The joint councils failed to adapt adequately to these changing circumstances. While their numbers increased, there was little accompanying organizational consolidation. The ramification of individual organizations and struggles into more encompassing movements is an essential part of effective protest. And the failure to develop a formal central body for the joint councils, a failure due in a large measure to the countervailing influence and financial demands of the SAIRR, inhibited the development of a liberalism that was incorporationist and responsive to African petty bourgeois aspirations.

While the Institute contributed to the growth of joint councils in the

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26. Lodge, **Black Politics**, 11; Haines, 'The Opposition', 198-208, especially 206.

27. It is worth noting that Post Office savings and bank deposits increased progressively during the 1930s. For instance, the number of Africans using the Postal Savings Bank increased from 27 783 in 1935 to 40 000 in 1937. Phillips, **The Bantu in the City**, 45.

28. O'Meara estimates that the petty bourgeoisie increased from 0.2 percent of adult Africans in 1921 to 0.9 percent in 1936. D. O'Meara, 'The African Mineworkers' Strike and the Political Economy of South Africa' in P. Kallaway and T. Adler (eds), **Contemporary Southern African Studies: Research papers**, Vol II, (Johannesburg, 1978), 64.

29. But see discussion in chapter 8 below, 274.

1930s, its interventions had the long term effect of inhibiting the internal organizational momentum of the councils. The SAIRR hierarchy, and Rheinallt Jones in particular, were in a position to intercept most moves to form a central organization for the joint councils. Rheinallt Jones, however well intentioned, consciously dampened enthusiasm for such moves throughout the 1930s, stressing the need to proceed cautiously.[30] Opposition to his suggestions was muted because of the general uncertainty about his status in the joint councils. Though pointing out from time to time that the SAIRR was separate from the joint councils, he did little to counter the notion that he was the de facto leader or at least chief spokesman of the latter. Even in the 1940s, correspondence was addressed to him in this vein.

There were efforts from within the joint councils to cope with the related problems of isolation, regional and national co-ordination. In November 1932, the Natal joint councils held a conference with a view to improving communication between themselves,[31] with the initiative coming from Pietermaritzburg.[32] At the conference the Pietermaritzburg council requested consideration of 'the advisability of forming a central organization in Natal' and pressed for 'an immediate decision'.[33] Rheinallt Jones urged caution, stressing the difficultly of getting the joint councils to act in unison. Conditions, he said, differed throughout the country as did joint council opinions.[34] A compromise was reached whereby a committee was elected to draft a scheme for a proposed Consultative Committee of all Joint Councils function-

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30. See following paragraph.

31. At the conference there were representatives from the Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Eshowe, Ladysmith, Mapumulo and Vryheid joint councils as well as the Natal University Bantu Studies Circle and the SAIRR.

32. Horton collection, Webb to Rheinallt Jones, 9 September 1932.

33. JCR, Bal.2, Report of the Joint Council Conference, Pietermaritzburg 1932.

34. Ibid.

ing in Natal.[35] Nothing came of this move, possibly because of the formation of the Consultative Committee of joint councils at the 1933 Bloemfontein conference.

There was also pressure from the KJC in general, and its secretary Martin Knight in particular, for the establishment of a formal regional organization for councils in the OFS and elsewhere, to ensure the development and maintenance of individual joint councils.[36] Possibly because they were unaware of the politics behind the inception of the SAIRR, Knight and the KJC did not directly challenge the Institute's hegemony vis-a-vis the joint councils. Rather, the Kroonstad body requested the Institute and the Consultative Committee to do something about the lack of co-ordination of joint councils.[37] The response from Rheinallt Jones and Saffery was to urge the KJC to affiliate formally to the Institute in order to have a say in the latter's affairs.[38] Given that there was little real control of Rheinallt Jones by the Institute this was not really the forum to press for effective organization of joint councils. The KJC undertook a fundraising drive[39] to raise the £10 annual subscription,[40] almost twice its annual budget, to become a full member of the Institute. Finding the money to be present at SAIRR meetings was a further problem; only on one occasion was the KJC able to send representatives.

Regional conferences were held in Kroonstad (OFS)[41] Durban in 1934,[42] and

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35. **Ibid.**

36. JCR, Ck5.1, Knight to Saffery, 5 September 1933.

37. **Ibid.**

38. JCR, Ck5.2, Kroonstad Joint Council (KJC) Annual Report, 1933.

39. **Ibid.**, Annual Report 1934.

40. JCR, Ck5.1, Rheinallt Jones to Rev C.F. Martin, 23 February 1933.

41. JCR, Ac8, Conference on Race Relations convened by SAIRR, Kroonstad, 1934.

42. JCR, Ba2, Natal Regional Conference, 1934.

the Eastern Cape in 1935.[43] These conferences were held under the auspices of the Institute and the consultative committee of joint councils, and were not concerned solely with joint council matters. None of the conferences set up any machinery for regional co-ordination of joint council activities. And although the conferences passed resolutions asking the Institute to convene similar conferences every year, there were no further meetings for the rest of the decade.

With the backing of the Institute, a Consultative Committee of the three Durban joint councils, African, Indian and Coloured, was established in 1934.[44] This Committee convened special joint meetings of the councils and the Institute's Durban office did the secretarial duties. Webb as the Institute's representative, served on the executive of all three bodies.[45] This Committee was the highest level of organizational integration of Coloured, Indian and African joint councils. It remained active for the next three years, but did little to establish or stimulate joint councils in the rest of Natal. The national Consultative Committee was restricted to white-African councils. It seems that the Institute placed the development of the Coloured and Indian councils within its organizational ambit rather than that of the joint councils. For instance, a Coloured-European inter-racial conference was held in 1933 under the auspices of the Institute and the Cape Town Coloured-European Council.[46]

The national Consultative Committee of Joint Councils was effectively underdeveloped by the Institute during the decade. The Committee had been empowered in 1933 to act 'until the next Conference of Joint Councils and to

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43. JCR, Bb1, Regional Conference, East London, 1935.

44. JCR, Ab2, Durban Consultative Committee Minutes, 11 October 1934.

45. Ibid.

46. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1933, 52.

take action on behalf of Joint Councils'. It was instructed 'to consider the best means of co-ordinating the work of Joint Councils'.[47] The committee never carried out this mandate and the next conference of joint councils was only called in 1936, largely as a response to the impending passage of the Hertzog segregation bills. The conference agreed that 'the existing method of securing uniformity of aim and action is not ideal' and that the time had come 'for a central Joint Council to be formed'. It was, acknowledged, however, that no funds were available for this purpose.[48] Saffery who had acted as secretary of the Consultative Committee since its inception, left this post in 1937 and it remained moribund until Edith Rheinallt Jones took it over in late 1939. However, it was only in 1950 when the next, and last, national conference of joint councils took place under the Institute's auspices.

The lack of organization on regional and local level had adverse effects on individual joint councils, as a short province by province examination will reveal. This survey will also provide some idea of regional and local dynamics of the councils.

At the end of the 1920s, there were two operative joint councils in the Free State, Bloemfontein and Kroonstad. During the early 1930s councils were established in the small rural towns of Ladybrand, Bethelehem and Heilbron. Kroonstad was the most dynamic of these councils. Its ranks included a number of activists who had served in the ICU in the 1920s. Most prominent were Robert Sello, Keable Mote,[49] Jason Binda and John Mancoe. This group was considering strategies of economic advancement and saw the KJC as a potential vehicle in this regard. In October 1931 a Unity Movement was formed between the joint council and a group of township residents led by Sello, with the

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47. JCR, Ac6.10, **Report of the Fifth National European-Bantu Conference, 1933.**

48. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1936, 37.

49. R. Sello and K. Mote were leaders of ICU factions in the Kroonstad area.

objective of developing a separate African local economy working in tandem with the 'European' one.[50] This scheme appears to have been overshadowed by the issue of securing municipal approval for African trading rights.[51] The refusal of all OFS municipalities to grant urban trading licences constituted an important rallying point for the African petty bourgeoisie in the province in the 1930s. And of the joint councils in the region the KJC played by far the most energetic role in campaigning for trading licences. In 1931 the KJC enlisted Rheinallt Jones's help to take the matter further.[52]

Knight was keen for the Kroonstad body to link up with its Bloemfontein counterpart in an 'attack' on the trading issue.[53] Rheinallt Jones advised the joint councils to make common cause with the location advisory boards congresses.[54] Consequently a special conference of the OFS division of the Advisory Boards Congress was held in August. The conference requested Rheinallt Jones to arrange a deputation to the Minister of Native Affairs, comprising representatives from the Advisory Boards Congress, the Native Traders' Association and the KJC.[55] Major Herbst, the secretary of Native Affairs, turned down the request on the grounds that it would make it more difficult for the NAD to persuade the Free State municipalities of the desirability of awarding African trading rights.[56] In the years that followed the NAD showed a reluctance to press the OFS municipalities for reforms. In 1933 Rheinallt Jones advised the council against further action 'while the political situation is

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50. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1936, 184.

51. **Ibid.**, 182-183.

52. JCR, Ck5.1, Knight to Rheinallt Jones, 26 June 1931.

53. **Ibid.**

54. **Ibid.**, Rheinallt Jones to Knight, 3 July 1931.

55. **Ibid.**, Knight to Rheinallt Jones, 3 August 1931.

56. JCR, Herbst to Rheinallt Jones, 29 August 1931.

so uncertain'.[57] In February 1935, he was still stalling the council, pointing out in this instance that the matter had been referred to the Native Affairs Commission.[58] In late 1935, Knight was transferred to Bloemfontein, and the trading rights issue was overtaken by the demise of the joint council in 1937.[59]

Despite the lack of progress regarding the trading rights issue, the council held together well in the first half of the 1930s.[60] However, the KJC does not seem to have given sufficient consideration to the ways of overcoming the problems facing aspirant petty businessmen. One is tempted to speculate whether African enthusiasm for the joint council would have been more enduring had the results of its fundraising been ploughed back into supporting small-scale ventures in the township, rather than generating affiliation and subscription fees for the SAIRR.[61] A nationally co-ordinated joint council 'movement' might have been able to develop some expertise in this regard. On its own, the KJC was not able to project itself as an organization with a long-term viability. There was a need for outside stimulation, a life line of hope to a major metropolitan area such as the Witwatersrand. The enthusiasm raised by Brookes' visit in 1934 (on a fund-raising tour) underlines the sense of isolation.[62]

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57. Cited Rich, 'Managing Black Leadership', 185.

58. Ibid.

59. JCR, Ck2, C.F. Martin to Rheinallt Jones, 24 August 1937.

60. A meeting held in May 1934 was 'a record both in attendance, and in the level of the discussion'. JCR, Knight to Rheinallt Jones, 11 May 1934.

61. The money for the affiliation fee for the Institute was raised through a concert in the township. JCR, Ck5.2, Martin to Rheinallt Jones, 8 November 1935.

62. Knight wrote enthusiastically about the impact of Brookes: 'He was really brilliant and has brought quite a crowd of people near to "conversion".' JCR, Ck5.2, Knight to Rheinallt Jones, 18 August 1934. This was the last SAIRR visit to the KJC.

The BJC[63] had a somewhat larger membership than its Kroonstad counterpart, but operated in fits and starts during the 1930s. A too complacent and insensitive paternalism among the white members probably contributed to this state of affairs. For instance, the chairman of the council recommended in late 1933 that a practice of holding meetings alternatively in the town and in the location be abolished:

> [We] must interest the European public far more than the native public, and we cannot expect any European non-members to attend our location meetings.[64]

In another instance several white members, led by J.R. Cooper, the location superintendent, were opposed to the slight widening of the category of Africans exempted from carrying their service contract, in effect a pass document, under a 1934 government proclamation.[65] This conservatism can probably be attributed to the departure of Bram Fischer who had been a leading member of the BJC in the late 1920s and early 1930s. During that time the Council had taken quite a progressive line, arguing **inter alia** that the influx of Africans into the urban areas should not be checked - a policy at variance with the majority of joint councils.[66]

Although the BJC did not come out particularly strongly against the Hertzog bills[67] and some of the white members supported the compromise bill, the council's membership increased during 1936-1937. In May 1936 there were 32 whites and 30 African members, increasing to 36 and 45 respectively by

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63. Leo Marquard was a leading member of the BJC.

64. JCR, Cb5.3, BJC Annual Report, 1933.

65. Cooper argued that employers would not be eligible to pay the service contract fee to the municipality for this category of wage earners. JCR, Cb5.1, M. Storey to Rheinallt Jones, 1 November 1934.

66. See SAB, K 26, Native Economic Commission, Minutes of evidence, Bloemfontein, 23 February 1931, Bram Fischer, 5070-5080, especially 5075-5077.

67. Haines, 'The Opposition'.

April 1937.[68] However, there was a significant deterioration in the state of arrears subscriptions. In 1935-1936 11 African members were in arrears which increased to 40 in the following year, along with 9 whites.[69] This financial problem continued unresolved and contributed to a decline in enthusiasm for the joint council in the years that followed.[70]

The Heilbron Joint Council, like the KJC, had a strong ICU presence among its membership in the earlier 1930s. Indeed, it was this group which played an important role in moves to set up the organization, actively seeking the support of 'Bantu intellectuals' in the process.[71] We have little evidence as to the workings and internal dynamics of this body. Neither the Heilbron Council or its Ladybrand counterpart seem to have concerned themselves much with overtly political issues such as the Hertzog bills. By contrast discussion of this legislation temporarily revived the Bethlehem council.[72] All three councils were situated in small rural towns, although Heilbron, which comprised, inter alia, some of the more progressive farmers in the district, seems to have had the strongest interest in the countryside. Among other things it investigated conditions of African labour on farms.[73]

Ladybrand was the only Free State joint council to survive the decade. An important factor in this regard was a low turnover of whites on its executive.[74] The Council's longstanding chairman, H.S. Coaker, was Ladybrand's deputy major. This contributed to a good working relationship between the

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68. JCR, Cb5.3, BJC, Annual Reports for the periods 1935-1936, and 1936-1937.

69. **Ibid.**, Annual Report for 1936-1937.

70. JCR, Cb5.1, L. Marquard to Edith Rheinallt Jones, 19 March 1939.

71. **Bantu World**, 8 September 1934.

72. 'We had eighteen Bantus and twelve Europeans present, which for a small town, I think you will agree, was quite creditable.' JCR, Cb4.1, E.M. Edwards to Saffery, 20 March 1936.

73. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 59-60.

74. JCR, C11.1, J. Stanfield to Rheinallt Jones, 26 October 1943.

joint council and the municipality. It was a circumspect body and there is no record of it challenging government policy. It did not meet as frequently as other councils,[75] but managed to get results on the relatively small range of issues it tackled.[76]

The decline of joint councils in the OFS should not only be ascribed to African disillusionment.[77] It appears that as the Purified National Party increased in strength white social life in Free State towns hardened somewhat against fraternization with Africans.[78] A further possible factor was the changing composition of the platteland towns during the 1930s and after; the proportion of English speakers of the white population dwindled in both real and absolute terms.

The decade was less severe on joint councils in the Cape and the Transvaal. In the Cape where Africans were most affected by the new legislation, support of joint councils was not markedly affected in the short term, although the rhythms of the individual councils varied discernibly from place to place. The Cradock body in the early and mid-1930s was notably active for a small town. This was due in part to the contributions of Mary Butler[79] and

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75. As Coaker said: '... the best modus operandi is to have a meeting when something has transpired which needs handling and not merely meetings for the sake of maintaining routine. The latter may be better where there are plenty of enthusiasts. I have likened the local J.C. to a revolver which one does not use until there is an emergency.' JCR, C11.1, H.S. Coaker to Rheinallt Jones, 26 October 1943.

76. E.g. the Joint Council secured a Native Commissioner's court for the district in 1936 which allowed cases arising out of customary (Native) law to be heard. It also funded and established a clinic and community hall in the township. JCR, C11.1, Stanfield to Rheinallt Jones, 1 December 1940.

77. Consider, for instance, the reasons given for the demise of the KJC by the outgoing secretary, Father Charles Martin: '.. the actual dissolution of the Kroonstad Joint Council was due to the defection of the Africans which made it impossible to carry on without doing them more harm than good. But there has always been a problem connected with the European members. They were so few that they certainly did not effectively balance the African members (when the latter turned up for meetings) and they were largely, I am afraid, of little use in the actual discussions.' JCR, Ck5.1, Martin, to Rheinallt Jones, 24 August 1937.

78. Interview with Mrs H.G. Bruwer, Durban, 24 August 1980.

79. 'At Cradock, Miss Mary Butler , the Secretary of the Joint Council, is in charge of the Location Clinic and her influence in the location is profound.' SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1932, 23.

James Calata, who became secretary general of the ANC in 1937. Butler came from a group of close-knit Quaker families in the district[80] and was able to get relatively substantial coverage for joint council activities from the local newspaper, **The Midland News**, run by her brother Ernest Butler.

James Calata played a leading role in social and political affairs in the Cradock township even after his constituency was threatened by Eliot Tonjeni's Independent ANC.[81] Among Calata's requests was that the Cradock location advisory board be given executive powers, on the grounds that agitators achieved little if Africans were given responsibility. The council declined to press this issue as well as a request that a 'poor man's lawyer' be appointed. Calata also pushed for a system of controlled domestic brewing.[82] This again was an issue that the council with a sprinkling of white Protestant clergy were reluctant to pursue. A feeling among Africans that Mary Butler's position of chief nurse in the township clinic was filling a position that could have accommodated an African, contributed to an incident in 1937 which led to her resignation and a fall out between her and Calata.[83]

The council went into a period of inactivity after Mary Butler's resignation and subsequent departure from Cradock in 1937. However, there was a definite upswing in its fortunes in 1938.[84] Calata remained a member and his lieutenant, S. Akena was the joint secretary. The council was represented at the Midlands regional conference of eastern Cape joint councils in 1940, but

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80. See Appendix A for biographical notes.

81. A short-lived, left-wing splinter group formed in the western Cape during the early 1930s. See Lodge, **Black Politics**, 9; Walshe, **Rise of African Nationalism**, 182-183; Butler, 'Interwar Liberalism', 92.

82. Butler, 'Interwar Liberalism', 92-93.

83. Ibid., 94; JCR, Cc5.1, O. Walters to Rheinallt Jones, 24 June 1937.

84. The president of this council felt 'that useful work has been done ... during 1938'. JCR, Cc5.2, Cradock Joint Council 10th Annual Report.

thereafter seems to have closed down.[85] While the failure of the whites on the council to push for the interests of Calata and his supporters contributed to its decline, it is easy to overlook Calata's essentially positive view of the joint councils. Although Calata turned his energies in the late 1930s to the rehabilitation of the ANC and the concomitant emphasis on independent African political assertion, he still regarded the joint councils as potentially useful sites for struggle. Addressing the Cape African Congress in 1939 Calata said:

> We believe the Joint Council Movement is along proper lines and should be extended to official bodies since the interests of the black and white people of this country are interwoven.[86]

It is not easy to generalize about the experiences of the Cape joint councils. The Kimberley[87] and Kingwilliamstown[88] joint councils, for instance, operated intermittently during the decade but do not seem to have developed any real constituency.[89] Both were sizable towns, and particularly in the case of Kingwilliamstown had a historical association with Cape liberalism. The East London Joint Council, after becoming virtually moribund by 1938, was reactivated during 1939-1940 by Oscar Wolheim, the SAIRR representative in the Eastern Cape, and Richard Godlo, a long-term joint council member.[90] The Queenstown council, after a patchy beginning in the early 1930s, seems to have consolidated somewhat by the late 1930s. By this time, Mina Soga, an African nurse and social activist, had became one of its secretaries, the

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85. See e.g. **Eastern Province Herald**, 4 June 1940.

86. Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol II, 153, 'Presidential Address' by the Rev. J.A. Calata, Cape African Congress, 1939.

87. JCR, Ck1.1, **Diamond Fields Advertiser**, 9 June 1938; JCR, Ck1.1, Saffery to D. Cohen, 31 July 1935.

88. Joint council records suggest the Kingwilliamstown Joint Council went into abeyance in 1936.

89. See e.g. JCR, Ck2.1, J.J.G. Carson to Rheinallt Jones, 22 May 1940: 'My impression grows that we have no centralized native organization or leadership.'

90. Interviews with an anonymous friend of Godlo, Duncan Village, East London, 23 August 1985; Oscar Wolheim, Cape Town, 23 March 1983.

first African women to be elected to such a post.[91]

Support for the Port Elizabeth council remained fairly constant during this time. The Grahamstown Native Welfare Association was converted into a joint council in 1931[92] and developed strong links with academics at Rhodes University.[93] What gave some measure of cohesion to the joint councils in the Eastern Cape, was the 1935 regional conference and two sub-regional conferences in 1940.[94] W.R. Caley, a retired school teacher and regional representative of the SAIRR, played a useful role during 1933-1935, as did Wolheim from 1938 onwards.[95] Councils might have had more bite had Caley been given the go-ahead to organize them to campaign against the bills in 1934.[96]

In the Western Cape the Cape Town council expanded its activities and membership somewhat in the early 1930s,[97] experienced rather lean years after 1936 and then recovered somewhat after a public membership drive in 1938.[98] During the early and mid-1930s, it continued to lobby MPs and government ministers, both on its own initiative as well as on behalf of other joint councils.[99] A central concern during the decade was with welfare matters of the new township of Langa, specifically in regard to health and education.

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91. M. Soga was a key figure in the National Council of African Women. See Appendix A; Interview with M. Soga, Glen Gray, 12 September 1984.

92. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 13.

93. Interviews with E.D. Mountain, Grahamstown, 6 July 1980; B.E. McIntosh and E.K. McIntosh, Grahamstown, 7 July 1980.

94. See Chapter 10 below.

95. Interview with Julius Lewin, London, 12 November 1979.

96. JCR, Cf2.1, W.R. Caley to Saffery, 18 October 1934.

97. JCR, Cc1.3, CJC Annual Report, 1934; Cc1.1, Goodlatte to Rheinallt Jones, 24 June 1931.

98. JCR, Cc1.1, A. Davis to Saffery, 11 May 1938.

99. **Ibid.**, D. Molteno to Rheinallt Jones, 16 November 1935; W.G.A. Mears to Rheinallt Jones, 1 August 1934; Rheinallt Jones to Goodlatte, 6 June 1933.

Although it had a strong core of critical liberal and Fabian whites,[100] Africans seem to have played a less active part than in any of the other larger councils, at least in regard to the operations of the CJC's executive.[101] For whatever reason, there does not appear to have been much of the way of links with the African political elite in the Western Cape,[102] a situation which the departure of Rev. A. Mtimkulu for Durban in 1931 no doubt aggravated. It was only among white and African women, at an ordinary membership level, that there was a reasonable degree of co-operative effort.[103] Cyril Kobus, an AAC activist in the 1940s, was a member of the CJC as a young man in the late 1930s. His impression of this Council suggests white members, especially the males, had a complacency about their liberalism:

> What struck me at the first meeting I attended was the whites were sitting on this side of a long table and the blacks were sitting on that side ... the whites were not expressing any views themselves but were throwing questions at the other side and when they spoke, they spoke of friends on the other side, our black brothers on the other side. And the black friends on this side would say our white friends on the other side.... some curious university students would go there who were perhaps writing a thesis or something like that. They would put questions and the whole meeting really seemed to centre on what our friends on the other side, our black friends on the other side thought about this and this. It wasn't an exchange of views. And the people who attended were usually people of the old school, Queen Victoria stuff...[104]

Developments in Natal in the 1930s are somewhat curious. On the one hand, there were a number of individuals of British origin who pushed forward thinking about the possible or potential roles of the joint councils. On the other hand, the Natal liberal tradition as a whole appears to have been more

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100. See chapter 7 above.

101. For instance, a CJC deputation to the Native Affairs Committee of the Cape Town City Council was comprised only of whites. CAD, Cape Town Municipal Records, 3/CT 1/4/10/1/1/3, City Council Native Affairs Committee Minutes, 21 June 1930. A further indication is that the office holders on the 1934 executive were all white. This may have been the case regarding office holders in other years, but the records are rather thin for the 1930s.

102. This situation was partly a reflection of the relatively small African population in the Cape peninsula.

103. JCR, Cc1.3, CJC Annual Report, 1934.

104. Interview with Cyril Kobus by R.J. Haines and G. Fisher, Qumbu, 30 August 1985.

unreflectively conservative than the Witwatersrand variety. The equivocation on the part of leading Natal liberals on the score of the 'Compromise' Bill, led Hoernle to observe:

> The Natal people ... seem to like the compromise. I am afraid that Natal Liberals take a singularly superficial view of everything that affects the Natives.[105]

This state of affairs was in part a reflection of the lack of support from Institute staff for moves to consolidate the organization of joint councils in the Province. The Pietermaritzburg Native Welfare Society was a relatively active body in the early 1920s but felt isolated. With no provincial co-ordination of joint councils forthcoming, the society was left largely to its own devices in attempting to transform itself into a fully-fledged joint council during 1933. The experiment was not successful and in 1935 the body shifted in the opposite direction to become a native welfare society without an African wing.[106]

Furthermore, it has been argued that a hegemonic ideology of segregation and virulent settler racism obliged the Natal **kholwa** from as early as the 1860s to seek links with 'traditional' African society.[107] The evidence given to the Native Economic Commission indicates that petty bourgeois Africans in the towns of Natal generally had closer ties with rurally-based 'traditional' society than their counterparts elsewhere in South Africa.[108] Moreover, as Marks has shown, in the 1920 and 1930s an alliance of interest developed between the petty bourgeoisie, the Zulu Royal family and chiefly authority more generally. This alliance was manifested in the promotion of a conservative Zulu

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105. SAIRR, B 100(a), Hoernle to Rheinallt Jones, 21 February 1936.

106. See constitutions formulated by the Society. JCR, Cp1.2.2, Constitution, 1934; Cp1.2.3, Amended Constitution, 1935.

107. Marks, **Ambiguities**, 58-59.

108. Even J.T. Gumede gave evidence to the Native Economic Commission in partnership with some chiefs from the Pietermaritzburg district. UG 22-'32, **Report of the Native Economic Commission 1930-1932**, 248.

cultural nationalism.[109]

In the early 1930s, a number of councils were established in Natal. More rurally-orientated councils were formed at Eshowe, a town abuting the Zululand Reserve as its hinterland and on the Mapumulo mission reserve.[110] The bulk of the new councils were concentrated in the northern part of the province. Other councils were established at Escourt, Dundee, Vryheid and Newcastle in the northern part of the province. With the exception of Escourt, but including Ladysmith which had been in existence since 1928, these northern Natal councils were all situated in an area with a strong coal mining sector. Vryheid and Dundee in particular, waged a campaign against the 'token system' on the mines - a scheme whereby part of the wages of the workers was paid in tokens which could only be tendered at company stores and canteens where beer was served. This was an issue in which white moralism was able to mesh with a range of African concerns. Not only did canteens attract a number of women and children, but the token system meant that less money was being spent in the townships. In 1934 the system was abolished by government proclamation.[111] Of these northern Natal joint councils only Dundee[112] and Vryheid saw out the decade, although the latter petered out in the early 1940s.[113] The above two councils also appear to have been the most active in this region. This was partly a reflection of the fact that there were substantial **kholwa** communities

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109. Inkatha was set up in the early 1920s by Solomon ka Dinizulu with the support of certain of the Natal petty bourgeoisie to gain state recognition for the Zulu Monarchy.

110. The rural joint councils are discussed in chapter 9.

111. JCR, Rheinallt Jones to W.W. Ndhlovu, 7 August 1934.

112. The Dundee Joint Council was 'virtually dead' during 1939-1940. JCR, Rev.K. Swenson to E. Rheinallt Jones, 5 September 1941.

113. JCR, Ndhlovu to Rheinallt Jones, 8 October 1947.

in their areas.[114] In the case of Vryheid, W.W. Ndhlovu, a Natal Congress notable, played an important role in sustaining the council.[115]

Despite having a reasonably large membership, the DJC was inactive from mid-1933 to mid-1934,[116] and in 1937.[117] To a considerable extent this can be ascribed to administrative problems, especially in regard to finding and maintaining a capable secretary with the requisite time for joint council duties.[118] Also, several key members were drawn by alternative opportunities or faced conflicting commitments. The creation of the Urban Native Advisory Board in Durban set up in the wake of the unrest of the late 1920s and early 1930s,[119] coupled with the new political structures under the 1936 Natives' Representation Act consumed a good deal of the energies of the African political elite in Durban and elsewhere in Natal.[120] Several DJC members held positions on the Advisory Board, which was headed by A.J. Sililo. Furthermore, the latter and Dube and Rev. A. Mtimkulu all were elected to the NRC in 1937.[121] While Edgar Brookes, who played an active role on the DJC in the mid-1930s, was elected as Senator for Natal Africans in the same year.

There was a continued reluctance to elect Champion to the council in the

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114. Telephonic conversation with Sheila Henderson, (chairman of Dundee Museum Committee), Dundee, 2 November 1981.

115. This is indicated in the correspondence between Rheinallt Jones and Ndhlovu in JCR, Cv5.1. In the same files see also Rheinallt Jones's reference to Ndhlovu in his notes on his visit to Vryheid during 4-5 August to set up a joint council.

116. JCR, Ab2, **Joint Council News**, Cc2\35.

117. JCR, Cd3.1, Webb to Saffery, 1 December 1937.

118. **Ibid.**, D. Shepstone to Rheinallt Jones, 15 June 1933; A. Wilks to Saffery, 4 December 1934; Webb to Saffery, 1 December 1937.

119. La Hausse, 'The Struggle for the City'.

120. S. Marks, 'Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity: Natal and the Politics of Zulu Ethnic Consciousness', in L. Vail (ed), **The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa** (London, 1989), 219.

121. Sililo and Mtimkulu were also part of the Natal Congress establishment which Dube still ran as a personal fiefdom.

1930s. This was probably because of his ongoing feud with Dube. Moreover, he was deemed not sufficiently respectable for the white DJC hierarchy's liking, as was pointed out in a patronizing letter to him from Mabel Palmer:

> I was very sorry that you have never taken any step to clear yourself of the suspicion of financial slackness with trust funds. I have not on the whole myself believed that anything worse was the matter than the sort of muddle that an inexperienced person may easily get into.... I have put it several times to persons interested in view of your leading position among the natives, we ought to invite you to join the Joint Council. But the answer always is 'we would not have a European under a similar financial suspicion and it is desirable to keep up the same standards for both races'.[122]

By taking Champion on board the DJC establishment would have given the council a broader base among the petty bourgeoisie. But it was complacent about its constituency. This is further revealed in the lack of response to calls from certain African members[123] that the council expand into the countryside and increase its African constituency. A lack of dynamism within the council can also be traced to the personal agendas of some of its white hierarchy.

In the early 1930s, Maurice Webb forged a close working relationship with Denis Shepstone, a leading figure on the DJC. This led him to expand his welfare work from Africans to Indians and Coloureds.[124] These pre-occupations, given Webb's pivotal role in Institute and joint council machinery, pushed the DJC more into straight welfare work than might otherwise been the case. These were mainly conceived at a level of the provision social services aimed at cultural change rather than reinforcing protest of a civil rights nature. For instance, in the later 1930s he campaigned for an adult education

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122. A.W.G. Champion Papers, Documentation Centre, University of South Africa, M. Palmer to Champion, 13 February 1930. For Champion's reply see Champion to Palmer, 17 February 1930.

123. JCR, Cd3.3, DJC Council Minutes, 7 April 1931.

124. 'In a little time Shepstone and I started or helped to start half a dozen things: a social centre, a Bantu Child Welfare Society, a home for bad boys, a branch of the Social Services Association, the United Council of Social Agencies, a Legal Aid Bureau. We gathered together committees and then between us played box and cox with the jobs of Chairman and Secretary. And we enjoyed it ...' Maurice Webb Papers, Killie Campbell Library, University of Natal, Durban, File 1, draft autobiography entitled 'The Colour of Your Skin', chapter 6, 6-7.

service for 'non-Europeans' along the lines of the 'Americanization Schools' in the United States. This would 'preserve all that can be preserved of good in Bantu and Indian culture, and yet enable the Bantu and Indian to fit into the pattern of Western Society as it is developed in South Africa'.[125]

Both Webb and Palmer, ex-members of the Fabian Society, were on the progressive wing of the white membership.[126] Had Palmer and Webb combined forces, the brand of liberalism espoused by DJC might have been more assertive. However, especially during the late 1920s and early 1930s there was considerable tension between the two, which contributed to Palmer's relative isolation within the council.[127] Palmer was inclined towards progressive and large-scale social engineering which was at odds with the more piecemeal social reformism of the rest of the council. Furthermore, she differed significantly with the rest of the council in her views on the reserves,[128] advocating a systematic dismantling of tribal authorities and the associated system of land tenure.[129] '[M]ost of the Europeans on the Council', she complained to Rheinallt Jones, 'do not think in economic categories, and the prestige here of the tribal authorities is so great that I doubt if my ideas which are opposed to it will be accepted'.[130] As has been suggested, it was the tendency among African petty bourgeoisie in Natal to take a more accommoda-

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125. Webb Papers, KCM 21749, 'Adult Education and Social Work', paper read at the National Conference on Social Work, Johannesburg, 22 September 1936.

126. Although Webb appears to have reined in his public views. This was partly due to his appointment as SAIRR representative in Natal, and the counsel of Loram and Rheinallt Jones. 'I don't think you are wise [wrote Loram to Webb] in asking for a declaration of policy on the race issue. You will either be regarded as useless negrophiles or you will split your society. There is no logic in this issue.' Webb papers, File 6, Loram to Webb, 16 December 1930.

127. For instance, JCR, Cd3.1, Webb to Rheinallt Jones, 26 March and 14 May 1930.

128. This difference of opinion was explicitly commented on by DJC delegates giving evidence to the Native Economic Commission. See e.g. SAB, K 26, Vol 7, Native Economic Commission 1932, Durban Evidence, 5 and 7 April 1931, 6328 and 6392 respectively.

129. **Ibid.**, 6328, 6392-6409.

130. JCR, Cd3.1, Palmer to Rheinallt Jones, 22 March 1931.

tionist position vis-a-vis authorities in the Zulu Royal family, in consequence this class seemed more conservative then their counterparts in other provinces.[131]

Joint councils in the Transvaal were generally in a better position to draw on the resources of the JJC, the Consultative Committee of Joint Councils and the SAIRR, all of which were organizationally centred on the Rand. The Johannesburg and Pretoria councils appear to have kept in closer touch, at least in the earlier 1930s, than those in major urban centres elsewhere in South Africa. With the partial exception of the JJC under Macmillan's chairmanship in 1931-1932, neither was able to expand its constituency during the decade. In terms of membership numbers at least, the Pretoria council was at its strongest during the early 1930s.[132] The departure in 1933 of Edgar Brookes, who had been chairman for the past few years, appears to have deprived the council of some of its drive.[133] Although Findlay remained as vice-chairman until 1935, there was less continuity of personnel on the executive than in the previous decade. The Council, however, retained its more assertive side that had developed at the end of the 1920s. For instance, in 1935-1936 it took a more confrontationist line in its dealings with the municipality, stressing that the latter was not facing up to its responsibilities regarding conditions in the townships.[134]

By early 1931 morale within the JJC was low and attendance poor, par-

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131. See p. 248 above.

132. The membership increased from 72 whites and 28 Africans in 1929 to 98 whites and 41 Africans in 1930. JCR, Cp9.4, Executive Committee Report, April 1929 - August 1930 in PNWA Minutes, 15 August 1930. Figures for the following years are not available, but according to N. Pijper, the council became somewhat smaller in the mid-1930s and after. Interview with N. Pijper, Johannesburg, 15 October 1981.

133. The galvanizing effect that Brookes had on the smaller joint councils during his tours of South Africa under Institute auspices during 1932-1933, suggests that he was a moving force in the PJC.

134. JCR, Ab2, **Joint Council News**, CC 15/36, January-June 1936.

ticularly among Africans.[135] A few months later, following the appointment of Macmillan as chairman in March 1931 and A.B. Xuma as one of two vice-chairmen attendance figures, especially on the African side were up dramatically. Under his chairmanship which lasted until December 1932, Macmillan attempted to persuade the JJC to make more imaginative use of constitutional protest. He began a campaign 'of talking informally' to senior municipal officials, and encouraged the cultivation of certain Rand MPs to inform them of 'absurdities' in the administration of Africans and to try to persuade them 'to do some organized firing-off of questions at Ministers'.[136] He also pushed for a new line of policy 'which was not unanimously accepted':

> We are forever unearthing scandals, and our cautious people say we can't move without all the full evidence. But that is not our job, and gives the police, for example, the initiative. Philip's rule was to go for "generals not particulars" - which is to say, show up the bad laws; for example, if a mistress employs a girl for twenty-nine days and then turns her out as "cheeky" without wages, what is the girl's remedy? Is there any effective remedy? There palpably is not. Similarly we are going to fulminate on native unemployment (which is awful) and challenge the government to disprove such figures as we give. And so on. It makes an amusing life and the Joint Council at least is fairly active.[137]

However, the operations of the council were hamstrung in a number of ways. Firstly, the council generally made decisions on the basis of consensus.[138] This meant that due account had to be taken of the fact that the bulk of the white membership was conservative. 'The trouble', Macmillan recollected, 'was that the mildest Africans were too radical for the social worker whites, though the less sophisticated could misplace their suspicions or direct their protest at the wrong target'.[139]

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135. JCR, Cj2.1.11, E.W. Grant to Rheinallt Jones, 3 January 1931.

136. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 206-207.

137. **Ibid.**, 208.

138. As Macmillan pointed out in his acceptance speech, the JJC's decisions 'had been reached by agreement rather than by counting of heads'. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 9 March 1931.

139. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 209.

A beginning was made to extend the small circle of the JJC's African constituency. In July 1931 Selope Thema reported that 'native committees', that is JJC branch offices, were being organized at local centres.[140] However, Macmillan's term of office seems to have been too short to place the JJC's regained assertiveness on a firm footing. Rich finds that the JJC was adversely affected by the radicalization of previously moderate Africans in the late 1930s. He points out that the African membership 'became strained after the success of the radical faction in the Transvaal centred around the Transvaal African Teachers' Association, and the Transvaal African Congress'.[141] It was this group which supported Hymie Basner in the 1937 election against Rheinallt Jones. Most Africans vigorously opposed the transfer of the protectorates to the Union when the issue was discussed in the council during 1938. This reinforced Hoernle's growing scepticism whether 'these detribalized Natives can really speak for the Native peoples as a whole'[142] and whether liberal institutions such as the joint councils and SAIRR could continue to exercise a moderating influence on the African political elite.[143] One should not overlook the fact that Hoernle was somewhat at odds with the JJC during 1938-1939. During the later 1930s there was more of a 'social democratic' wing among the white joint councillors. Bram Fischer became a key member of the JJC executive during this period and served as treasurer from 1936-1939. It was also during this period that he became a member of the CPSA.[144] The Ballingers kept in contact with the council especially when Margaret's parlia-

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140. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 13 July 1931.

141. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 515.

142. MSS Brit. Emp. APSP, S22 G196, Hoernle to Harris, 1 July 1938. Cited Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 516.

143. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 516.

144. Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 29.

mentary duties brought her to the Transvaal.[145] Ellen Hellman, Julius Lewin (who joined early in 1939) and his wife Eleanor Hawarden were among those with progressive leanings. Lynn Saffery, though an Institute employee, was supportive of African trade unionism.

African members of the JJC seem to have become more assertive during this period. Xuma, who assumed the ANC presidency in 1940,[146] remained on the Council's executive and was elected chairman in 1940.[147] Gilbert Coka, a journalist and political activist, served on the executive during this period. Rev. S. Tema, a respected figure of the Rand political elite,[148] also retained his links with the JJC, although he was only able to attend meetings infrequently from 1938 onwards because of his appointment as the travelling secretary of the Student's Christian Association. Other up-and-coming political figures such as Oliver Tambo, participated in the JJC at one time or other during the late 1930s and the early 1940s. The JJC was a useful place to meet people; for many it was probably not an end in itself. It was most likely through joint council meetings that Xuma and Fischer formed their friendship, which led the latter to help redraft the ANC constitution in 1943.[149]

Although there was not as close an identification between the Institute and JJC during the later 1930s as Rich assumes, the JJC had become perceptively more local in its outlook and more circumspect about its national role. Despite having a number of young and more assertive 'social democratic' liberals in its ranks, these do not seem to have developed a coherent strategic

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145. Margaret Ballinger along with Rheinallt Jones was made a member of the JJC Executive in 1937. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 12 April 1937.

146. Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 165.

147. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1940.

148. Rev. S. Tema remained mainly on the periphery of organized politics, but served in 1937 as chairman of a committee concerned with reviving the ANC in the Transvaal.

149. Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 29.

challenge to the inherent conservatism of the SAIRR. Some of these liberals may not have been fully aware of the circumstances of the its formation; but whatever the case there was a tendency to treat the Institute as a **fait accompli**. Also, the presence of Saffery, who acted as JJC secretary from late 1933 till 1938,[150] complicated matters. While having progressive leanings in matters such as African trade unionism, Saffery was an SAIRR employee. Furthermore, there was usually a prominent Institute presence during the 1930s among those involved with the 'nuts-and-bolts' administration of the Council. H.S.B. Vieyra, the chairman of the JJC from 1937-39,[151] was close to the SAIRR and Rheinallt Jones was on the Executive Committee for most of the period.[152] In addition, politically-active Africans such as Xuma probably had mixed feelings about the need for a strong central organization for joint councils. Such a venture could conceivably compete with efforts to rejuvenate African political organizations, which was a priority for Xuma.[153]

In March 1931 a conference of the existing Reef joint councils, Johannesburg, Benoni, Germiston and Springs, was held under Macmillan's chairmanship. The gathering was described as 'large and representative' but no organizational machinery appears to have been established.[154] A similar gathering was mooted for 1934, but there is no record of it being held. It was only in late 1939 that steps were taken to organize a regional conference in the Transvaal. Significantly perhaps, the initiative came from the Benoni Joint Council, not the JJC.[155]

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150. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1933; JJC Annual Report, 1938.

151. **Ibid.**, JJC Annual Report, 1937.

152. See e.g. **Ibid.**, Cj2.4, JJC Annual General Meeting, 7 March 1932; 11 March 1935; 12 April 1937.

153. Xuma Papers, ABX390605, Xuma to Hoernle, 5 June 1939.

154. JCR, Bc1.1, Conference of Reef Councils, 1931.

155. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 10 July 1939.

A number of joint councils were established in the Reef towns. Germiston had been in existence since 1930.[156] In 1932 Klerksdorp was established and Benoni reconstituted.[157] Krugersdorp followed a year later.[158] In 1933 a joint council was formed in Witbank, an industrial town in the eastern Transvaal.[159] Councils were also set up in large towns serving an agricultural population, namely Potchefstroom (Western Transvaal),[160] Pietersburg (Northern Transvaal), Springs[161] and Ermelo[162] (Eastern Transvaal). A rural joint council was set up in the Zoutpansberg area of the Northern Transvaal in 1931,[163] and proved to be one of the most long-lived of the Transvaal bodies.[164]

Despite having the general edge in logistical back-up, a number faltered or fell. Surprisingly it was the joint councils in the Reef industrial towns which were affected most. Rheinallt Jones had to make two efforts in 1932 to revive the Benoni council.[165] Germiston folded sometime in 1935 and was only re-established in 1939-1940.[166] The two West Rand councils, Krugersdorp[167] and

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156. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 15.

157. **Ibid.**, 1932, 15.

158. **Ibid.**, 1933, 48.

159. JCR, Cw2.1, Notes by Rheinallt Jones on visit to Witbank, 30 April 1933.

160. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 13.

161. Pietersburg and Springs were already in existence in 1928. JCR, Aa3.1, The Joint Council Movement.

162. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1934.

163. **Ibid.**, 1931, 13.

164. This body will be discussed at some length in the following chapter.

165. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1932, 15.

166. JCR, Cg2.1, Notes by Rheinallt Jones on reforming the Council, c.1939; Rheinallt Jones to Native Commissioner of Germiston, 10 November 1939.

167. JCR, Ck6.1, Notes by Rheinallt Jones on establishment, 1933; F.H. Ferreira to Rheinallt Jones, 27 April 1933; Unsuccessful attempts to reform: Rheinallt Jones to Mrs E.M. Gladwin, 14 March 1940.

Klerksdorp,[168] were short-lived. Perhaps because they were sufficiently close to the JJC to suffer by comparison and a number of Africans came from quite far out.

Growing politicization of Africans in the later 1930s undoubtedly had some effect on the councils, as did intensified struggles in a number of townships. Germiston townships were among the most affected. This possibly contributed to the demise of the town's Joint Council in 1935. The Witbank Joint Council complained of 'propaganda by subversive organizations which made it difficult for Europeans to gain the confidence of Africans'.[169] In Vereeniging where increasing township resistance led to an attack on a police detail in September 1937,[170] concern with 'racial friction' apparently led to calls from Africans and whites for the revival of the Joint Council.[171] Previously, the Vereeniging Joint Council, set up in 1934, had 'collapsed through lack of proper secretarial facilities'.[172]

In the Transvaal, as elsewhere, a sound organizational structure, was important in keeping a joint council active. For instance, one of the reasons for the Witbank Joint Council seeing out the decade was a close working relationship between two dominant figures on the executive, a retired mining engineer, G.W. Hannay, and African school master, E.M. Phago.[173] Those councils which were prepared to show persistence in dealing with issues deemed impor-

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168. **Die Vaderland**, 31 August 1932; JCR, Ck3.1, summary.

169. JCR, Bc2.6, Conference of Transvaal Joint Councils Minutes, 1946.

170. For details see e.g. **The Star**, 20 September 1937; Roux, **Time Longer than Rope**, 282-284; Hirson, **Yours for the Union**, 63-74.

171. 'And it is noteworthy that where racial friction is most in evidence (e.g. after the recent riots in Vereeniging) there have been appeals to the Institute from Africans as well as Europeans for help in forming Joint Councils as a means of relieving the racial tension.' SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1937, 57. See also **Daily News**, 12 November 1937; JCR, V. Mangene to Edith Pheinalit Jones, 8 December 1937.

172. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1934, 52.

173. See e.g. JCR, Cw2.2, Witbank Joint Council Annual Report published in **Witbank News**, 6 May 1939.

tant by local African communities were more likely to survive. The Potchefstroom Joint Council is a case in point. A good deal of energy was devoted to the affairs of Machievstad residents, a community of about 800 who held land within the municipal area. The council helped stave off municipal attempts to remove the community and organized drought relief during 1933-1934. Later, with the assistance of the Bantu Welfare Trust which funded an agricultural demonstrator, and loans of planters and ploughs from the municipality, it was able to put the community's agricultural production on a sounder footing.[174]

The joint councils operated in a terrain which had changed discernably from the previous decade. Urbanization altered the face of towns and cities and heightened the need for welfare work. Indeed, social reformism became something of a growth industry during this period, with regard to both voluntary and state agencies. Whites remained the privileged target group but, according to the 1931 SAIRR Annual Report, there was

> a widening recognition on the part of organizations, which have hitherto been exclusively devoted to social welfare among Europeans, that the well-being of a community depends upon the well-being of all its parts.[175]

Voluntary agencies dealing specifically dealing with aspects of African, Coloured and Indian welfare, or 'non-European' welfare grew in number. Whites still played prominent roles in most of these, but there was a definite trend towards Africans playing more active roles and taking more independent initiatives.[176]

In some instances, these organizations helped underwrite the continued

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174. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1939, 32; JCR, Cp7.2, Potchefstroom Joint Council, Annual Report, 1933-1934; Report for period 1938-1946; **Potchefstroom Herald**, August 1934, 16 April 1935. It is worth noting that the Machiestad community were removed in 1977. At the time of writing this group had reoccupied the land and the matter is now subject to legal action.

175. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 39.

176. 'There is also a growing readiness on the part of Bantu men and women to engage in social work ...' SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 38; M. Webb, 'Some Inter-Racial Aspects of Poverty and Poor Relief in Durban', **Race Relations**, 4-5; 'Miss Soga gave a striking address on health conditions in the Queenstown location', JCR, 4a1, Adviser's Report, c.1931, 4.

existence of joint councils. A number of joint councils developed links, and at times close working relationships, with certain white philanthropic agencies, particularly Toc H and Rotary. In the smaller towns Toc H branches played a central role in initiating or reviving joint councils,[177] as well as providing membership. Both Rotary and Toc H co-operated with joint councils on a number of projects. For example, Toc H branches helped the Port Elizabeth[178] and Eshowe[179] Joint Councils organize large 'Native sports days'. The Queenstown Joint Council and Rotary undertook a similar exercise in 1930,[180] while the JJC and Johannesburg Rotary branch co-operated in pressing for a V.D. clinic and in organizing a conference on juvenile delinquency.[181] Rotary was more than merely a co-operative sister organization to the DJC, it was the financial strength behind this Joint Council and care was taken not to alienate it.[182]

The development of these agencies, however, also had a negative effect on the joint councils. Growing numbers of African and 'non-European' welfare associations[183] obliged certain leading joint councillors to scatter their fire,[184] a process encouraged by the development of the SAIRR. The Institute

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177. For instance, the Vereeniging Toc H led the call for an establishment of a joint council in the town in 1934 (A. Lynn Saffery, 'Joint Council News', **Race Relations**, I, 3, 1934, 54 and **Race Relations**, I, 4, 1934, 75), and supported the revival of the Kimberley Council (JCR, Ck1.1, J.G. Moult to Saffery, 7 May 1938).

178. JCR, Ab2, **Joint Council News**, CC 15/36, January-June 1936.

179. JCR, Ce4.4, Advertisement for Native Sports.

180. JCR, Aa1, 'Adviser's Report'.

181. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 13 January 1930; 10 November 1930; Ab2, **Joint Council News**, CC 4/37, July-December 1937.

182. For instance, an ICU request to hold a meeting in the Durban Social Centre was refused. SAIRR, II, Aa3.2.1, Brookes to Rheinallt Jones, 17 April 1934.

183. By 1935, if not sooner, the Durban and Johannesburg branches of Rotary had standing sub-committees dealing specifically with 'Native welfare'. Rheinallt Jones Papers, Ac2.3, Webb to Rheinallt Jones, 2 October 1935.

184. The activities of Webb and Shepstone in Durban are a case in point. See p. 251 above. Rheinallt Jones also maintained close personal links with Rotary.

actively pursued the aim of 'furthering co-operative endeavour in social welfare'.[185] Rheinallt Jones set the tone early in the decade:

> I should prefer to have no reference to legislation but it is very difficult to avoid discussion since there is such a succession of thoroughly bad legislation. I should like to give greater emphasis to the development of social agencies, such as child welfare and libraries.[186]

Furthermore, the municipalities and to a lesser extent the central state were beginning to take over some of the functions carried out by joint councils, particularly in certain health and recreational matters. Though the SAIRR depicted this as proof of growing co-operation between the authorities on the one hand and the joint councils and SAIRR on the other, this was the more favourable gloss. The joint councils did not seem to retain much influence over activities taken over by officialdom, however well intentioned the latter may have been.[187]

While there was a spread of organized social reformism, establishment liberals adopted an uncritical view of its potential momentum. It was difficult to keep in mind that organized welfare work among Africans did little more than keep pace with urbanization and treated the symptoms rather than the cause. A short consideration of the joint councils activities in regard to health issues helps illustrate this point.

In the smaller centres the joint councils continued to deal directly with issues such as the establishment and maintenance of clinics, the funding of nurses for township duty,[188] the provision of first aid and basic health instruction.[189] The larger joint councils proportionally began to give in-

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185. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1937, 55.

186. Webb Papers, KCM 21958, Rheinallt Jones to Webb, 26 April 1932.

187. See e.g. SAB, NTS 9263 32/371, SNA (Mr Grobler) to JJC, 5 December 1933.

188. JCR, Ab2, **Joint Council News**, I, 3, 1934, 54.

189. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 28; 1932, 22-28.

creased time to the discussion of broader issues such as the need for better training and employment opportunities for African nurses[190] and the need for medical instruction for Africans.[191] However, there was not an integration of these and other related demands into a more general national health policy, such as Macmillan suggested in 1930.[192] Although the volume of joint council work increased in the sphere of health matters, as well as most of their other traditional concerns, there was often an over-emphasis on details and a decided under-emphasis on the development of a comprehensive social policy. A growing recourse to welfare work and co-operation with the central and local state, reinforced a tendency of liberal intellectuals to look to the state for reformist action. By the late 1930s certain progressive social critics were beginning to think in terms of some kind of partnership of intellectuals and the state.[193] While more evident in the war years and influenced **inter alia** by the social security programmes of wartime Britain, signs of this tendency can be identified in the late 1930s.[194] And it was not dissimilar to a shift to 'social scientism' in Australia during the 1930s and 1940s, which Conell and Irving see as means 'to replace class struggle with "social efficiency"'.[195]

This is not to endorse Rich's argument that liberalism took on a welfarist and conservative hue during the 1930s.[196] One should not overlook the more critical strain in the JJC in the late 1930s, especially on issues such as

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190. **Ibid.**, 1934, 41.

191. Special Resolution, National European-Bantu Conference, 1933. Cited in Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol I, 257.

192. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 13 October 1930.

193. Haines, 'Liberalism and the Making of National Culture'.

194. **Ibid.**

195. R.W. Conell and T.H. Irving, **Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narratives and Argument** (Melbourne, 1980), 202.

196. Rich, **Liberal Conscience**, chapter 3.

trade unionism and civil rights. It is important to take into consideration the ways in which precedent and dogma encrusted the machinery of the joint councils over the years, making it difficult for younger and newer members to activate more progressive strategies and tactics. By the end of the 1930s the idea that the joint councils should concern themselves with local matters had become almost accepted fact, a process of myth-making in which the Institute hierarchy played a central role. With the departure of Macmillan and the grudging acceptance of the SAIRR by the CJC, few if any of the younger members seem to have been aware of the less-than-legitimate origins of the Institute.[197]

With the major exception of the 1935-1936 opposition to the Hertzog Native Bills, the joint councils allocated proportionally less time in campaigning against national discriminatory legislation.[198] The protest against the Hertzog Bills was the only time the Consultative Committee of Joint Councils was used to mobilize joint councils on a national basis. Even in this instance, the Committee was acting as a front for the SAIRR hierarchy rather than on its own initiative.

There was a degree of co-ordination of joint council protest on the score of the Native Service Contract Bill during 1931-1932.[199] Partly prompted from calls from certain joint councils, Zoutpansberg[200] and Durban[201] being among the more prominent, the JJC took the lead in drawing up and collecting signa-

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197. Interview with Julius Lewin, London, 12 November 1979.

198. This is an impression formed by comparing the minutes and annual reports of various joint councils during the decade.

199. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1932, 39.

200. Horton Collection, SAIRR, IRP 1/32, Press Release, Report on Zoutpansberg Joint Council letter of protest to Minister of Justice on the Native Servant Contract Bill.

201. **Cape Times**, 9 April 1932.

tures for a manifesto of protest against the bill.[202] Unfortunately the Durban Joint Council short-circuited the process by prematurely publishing the manifesto in the Durban press.[203] The formation of the Consultative Committee partly undercut the JJC's role as the leading joint council in terms of pronouncing on Union-wide matters. Nevertheless, the JJC continued to join forces with other joint councils,[204] the Pretoria body especially,[205] in deputations to officialdom and in published protest over specific matters. From time to time the Cape Town Council relayed the protests of individual joint councils to relevant MPs. On other occasions, in its own right it performed a small lobbying function in parliament. The CJC, for instance, was responsible for the deletion for one of the clauses in the General Law Amendment Bill in 1935. The clause would have allowed confession to a policeman in the presence of a witness to be used as evidence.[206]

Relations between police and Africans became even more of a pressing issue in the 1930s and was dramatized by the increasing use of the 'pick-up' van, particularly on the Reef.[207] In 1930 there were 42 262 convictions for pass offences, 39 000 of which occurred in the Transvaal, 49 772 convictions for tax offences and 46 789 for offences under the Urban Areas Act and municipal regulations.[208] Apart from most joint councillors and Africans in general, this situation worried white humanitarian opinion, including sections of the

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202. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 11 April 1932.

203. Ibid.

204. The JJC took the initiative in co-ordinating joint councils to make representations to the Police Commissioner to broaden the terms of a Police Committee of Enquiry to include examination of relations between Africans and Police. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1936.

205. See e.g. Rheinalit Jones Papers, Cp9 A/4, Rheinallt Jones to Secretary of Native Affairs, 27 January 1932; JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 8 February 1937.

206. JCR, Ad 40, CC2/36, Report on Joint Councils, 1936.

207. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1935, 3; Hirson, Yours for the Union, 67-69.

208. Whyte Papers, Draft History of the SAIRR.

legal fraternity, and led to calls for the appointment of a 'public defender'[209] and/or the provision of legal aid.[210] Possibly the first steps in this regard came from Howard Pim who appears to have negotiated for and funded an ex-magistrate to carry out the duties of a Court Defender, a non-official appointment.[211] During 1933-1934 the JJC, SAIRR hierarchy, Rotary and other concerned individuals explored ways of extending this system. At a 1935 conference at the University of the Witwatersrand on the question of legal aid - convened by the Institute at the suggestion of Rotary - it was suggested that an honorary panel of lawyers be appointed. According to Quentin Whyte, Rheinallt Jones' successor as SAIRR director, this move was opposed by the local law society who proposed a fee structure.[212] As Roux saw it, liberal lawyers, some of whom were associated with the JJC, had cold feet about the scheme partly because the financial return would be poor.[213] In 1939 a Legal Aid Bureau was established in Johannesburg, the bulk of its finance from the Bantu Welfare Trust. While the joint councils provided some of the initiative for the establishment of Legal Aid Bureaus, these ventures developed their own institutional momentum beyond formal joint council and SAIRR control.[214]

The joint councils were distinctly reluctant to link with organizations to their left in public campaigns of protest. Several times during the 1930s the JJC declined to participate in populist campaigns or large public protest

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209. JCR, Ab2, **Joint Council News**, January 1935, 4.

210. Whyte Papers, Draft History of SAIRR, chapter on legal aid.

211. **Ibid.**

212. **Ibid.**

213. Roux, **Time Longer than Rope**, 281.

214. Whyte Papers, Draft History of SAIRR, chapter on legal aid.

meetings on civil rights issues.[215] However, a few JJC members, clerics rather than lawyers, usually participated in these meetings or campaigns in their individual capacity.[216]

Pass laws remained an important issue for the joint councils but they tended not to engage in public campaigns on the issue, nor did they push for total abolition. The usual plea to the authorities was for the variety of passes to be simplified, preferably into a single document.[217] This formula was not merely a sop to the white joint councillors; African members generally seemed to accept it as a sensible tactic.[218] Perhaps, the fact that most of the African members were 'exempted' muted their protest somewhat. Also, the 1934 proclamation which waived employers' tax for 'exempted' Africans and probably boosted their chances of finding employment, may have had a moderating influence.

By and large the question of wages was given more attention and seems to have been regarded by the councils as a less politically controversial issue than in the 1920s.[219] Among other reasons for this was that for most of the decade the battle was not to increase African wages in real terms, but to prevent cuts in wages[220] or replacement of Africans by whites[221] and, with the

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215. See e.g. Roux, **Time Longer than Rope**, 279-281, for a discussion of the JJC's reluctance to join forces with the CPSA in populist campaigns.

216. E.g. Rev. Dexter Taylor was one of the participants in a campaign against the indiscriminate use of the pick-up van. Roux, **Time Longer than Rope**, 279.

217. SAB, NTS 9263 32/371, Memorandum of JJC, October 1931.

218. The available records do not indicate that African joint councillors pushed for a hard line on the pass laws.

219. JCR, Bb1.1, Report of Regional Conference (Eastern Districts, Cape Province), 1935, 8; Cp5.3, Port Elizabeth Annual Report, 1938-1939.

220. JCR, Cp3.5.1, Pietersburg Joint Council Resolution.

221. '[N]early every joint council has pass[ed] resolutions of protest against the dismissal of Natives.' SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 44.

upsurge in the economy during 1933-1934, to restore wage cuts[222] and persuade employers, especially state concerns, to re-engage African and other black labour.[223] In the larger centres, there was something of a raised awareness of the need for local capitalists to assume more civic responsibility by paying more of a living wage.[224] This development can be seen in the growing interest in Rotary circles with the issue of a higher minimum wage for African workers. By the late 1930s, with the slow but perceptible re-emergence of African trade unions, several joint councils began considering the issue of incorporating the unions into state structures through means such as securing representation on Industrial Councils.[225]

Education also received more attention. The growing self-confidence of African teachers' associations percolated through to the joint councils as African teachers still remained a core component of their membership. The 1935-1936 Interdepartmental Commission on Native Education, to which a number of joint councils presented evidence, also had some impact.[226] Rheinallt Jones described the Commission Report 'as the Magna Carta of Native Education'.[227] The commission recommended removing Native Education from the provinces to the Union Education Department, the financing of Native Education of a per capita basis and free primary education.[228] With the JJC taking the lead, the coun-

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222. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1937; Cd3.2, DJC Annual Report, 1939-1944; Cc1.1, Rheinallt Jones to Goodlatte, 6 June 1933.

223. JCR, Ac8.2, Proceedings of Conference on Race Relations, 1934, 3.

224. JCR, Cd3.2, DJC Annual Report, 1934-1935.

225. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1938, 4; Cj2, Report of a Meeting with Members of the Co-ordinating Commission of Native Trade Unions.

226. African education nevertheless remained a low priority for the state until the 1940s. F. Molteno, 'Historical Foundations: The Schooling of Black South Africans' in Kallaway, Apartheid Education, 69.

227. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 10 August 1936.

228. UG 29-'36, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936; Cape Times, 25 July 1936.

cils pressed for the implementation of the recommendations. In November 1936, a deputation drawn from the Johannesburg and Pretoria councils, and representing other joint councils,[229] interviewed the Minister of Education.[230] Little came of the interview; the minister took the line that matters had to stand until the provinces came to a decision on the question of central government control.[231] A few months later, because of Natal's opposition, the proposal to transfer control was turned down. The joint councils then switched to efforts to persuade the state to provide additional funds for African education.[232]

Generally, the joint council views on education were less overtly segregationist in the 1930s than previously. There was, however, no suggestion of creating a unified education system for Africans and white.[233] But this was not merely a resigned acceptance of the situation. Africans within and without the joint councils increasingly urged the state to bring education fully under its control, to provide an expanded source of employment for Africans, especially the petty bourgeoisie and to equip them 'for intelligent membership of the modern state.[234] These demands were partly a reflection of hardening African attitudes towards the disproportionate control of African education exercised by (white) missions.[235] This is evident in the unanimous

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229. These were not named.

230. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 8 February 1937.

231. **Ibid.**, Cj2.4, JJC Annual Report, 1936.

232. **Ibid.**, JJC Annual Report, 1938.

233. There is no documentation of any call for a unified system of education in any of the joint council records for the 1930s.

234. JCR, Ac6.10, Z.K. Matthews, 'The Educational Needs of the Bantu', **Some Aspects of the Native Question: Selected Addresses delivered to the Fifth National European-Bantu Conference, Bloemfontein, July 5-7, 1933** (Johannesburg, 1933); see also Selope Thema's editorial on the duties of state vis-a-vis African education in **Bantu World**, 22 July 1933.

235. Glenn Fisher's draft material for a masters thesis on education in the Transkei shows the emergence of such sentiments in the territory during 1916-1917 and their intensification during the 1930s and 1940s.

resolution of the NRC to place African Education under the Minister of Education.[236] As Selope Thema explained; Africans did not want a 'Bantuization of Education' for education was not a possession of a single race, instead it was 'a universal thing ... not to be segregated.'[237]

The joint councils involved themselves in a range of more local and 'practical' matters relating to education. A few joint councils set up night schools[238] and in a number of other centres individual joint council members involved themselves in such ventures.[239] In the later 1930s some joint councils began involving themselves with the question of nutrition and educational performance and undertook efforts to supply African schoolchildren with milk and/or orange juice. The Port Elizabeth Joint Council was particularly active on this score.[240] Most of the larger joint councils supported rather than ran school-feeding schemes. Certain councils also helped raise funds to build or extend schools.[241]

While there were an increasing number of interventions in the field of leisure, these were less directly under joint councils purvey than in the previous decade. Firstly, the Pathfinders and Wayfarers developed as organizations in their own right, with the SAIRR, rather than joint councils, having an influence on policy. There was still a degree of overlapping of personnel between these African scouting movements and the councils. For

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236. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, 'Race Relations in 1937', **Race Relations**, V, 1, 24.

237. Walshe, **The Rise of African Nationalism**, 152.

238. E.g. the KJC established a night school. JCR. Ck5.3, KJC Council Minutes, 16 October 1934. Port Elizabeth Joint Council also attempted to organize a night school but had limited success. JCR. Ab2. **Joint Council News**. January-July 1936.

239. E.W. Grant, a leading member of the JJC, was involved in running night schools on the Rand. JCR. Cj2.1.11. E.W. Grant to Rheinallt Jones, 19 March 1930; Ab2. **Joint Council News**. I. 2. 1934. 37.

240. JCR, C5.1, Port Elizabeth Joint Council Annual Report, 1939.

241. Grahamstown Joint Council played a key role in establishing an African secondary school in 1937-1938. **Grocotts Mail**. 'An Historical Survey of Grahamstown Joint Council', 1 August 1957.

example, James Calata was the head of the Pathfinders in the Cradock district and a several JJC members were involved on Wayfarer and Pathfinders on the Reef. But the DJC, to cite one example, had little to do with these groups.[242] The Gamma Sigma Clubs continued on the Rand, but do not appear to have been regarded as actual or potential outposts by the JJC. The BMSC was consolidated as a key site in the cultural life of the Reef's male African elite[243] and remained the venue for meetings of the JJC and African organizations. In addition, the Centre helped spawn a number of new cultural ventures. For instance, the Bantu Dramatic Society, formed in 1932, was very much the creation of the BMSC where all its performances were held.[244] A similar centre was finally opened in Durban in 1934, with Rotary providing the bulk of the funds and having some say in its use.[245]

In the 1930s, in Johannesburg and Durban especially, the local state began to mount its own interventions in the field of African recreation - a move which over time reduced the joint councils' involvement in this sphere. In 1929 Sol Senoanane, the African secretary of the BMSC, was offered and accepted the position of Director of Native Recreation in the Johannesburg municipal area. A Johannesburg Bantu Football Association which had already been formed under his secretaryship, quickly developed from an association of 25 clubs in 1929 to 153 senior and 282 junior clubs in 1937.[246] Basic facilities for certain categories of organized and competitive sport were also provided in the townships. Furthermore, in 1937 the municipality appointed

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242. It was only Maurice Webb in his capacity as SAIRR regional representative who kept an eye on matters regarding the Pathfinders and Wayfarers.

243. Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', 127.

244. Couzens, 'Moralizing Leisure Time', 322.

245. SAIRR, II, Aa3.2.1, Brookes to Rheinallt Jones, 17 April 1934.

246. Phillips, **The Bantu in the City**, 308.

two white women as Welfare Officers to develop social activities among women and children in the townships.[247] In Durban, the City Council initiated a programme of African recreation in 1930 that appears to have incorporated some of the proposals that the DJC and ABM had raised during the mid-1920s and after.[248] It appointed a welfare officer with the brief of 'investigating complaints, grievances, and organizing social entertainments, sports and recreation'. A range of organized sport was soon arranged for the townships and the city barracks.[249]

While Durban's programme failed to undercut the political mobilization by the CPSA in this region during 1930, the growing recreational infrastructure and ventures in Johannesburg were seen by some social critics of the time as having a distinct impact on protest.

> The bulk of my native men in this town [wrote Champion during his exile in Johannesburg] are for sports and for other bodily amusements. The Government, and the Employers of native labour and the native friends of this town know this fact too well and they are certainly very happy to encourage this sporting spirit as they truly know that it is the only means of keeping away natives from the power of agitators like Champion.[250]

Baruch Hirson sees the political and cultural influence of the joint councils as entwined and extensive. Thus he finds the composition and 'moderation' of the AAC a confirmation of the ideological success of the joint councils.[251] However, while the joint councils on balance probably helped reinforce processes of co-option and pacification, there is a danger of over-estimating their ideological reach and under-estimating the contradictions and complexities of their relationship to the African petty bourgeoisie.

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247. JCR, Cj2.1.17, G. Ballenden, Manager of Johannesburg City Council Native Administration Department, to Rheinallt Jones, 11 September 1937.

248. Haines, 'Policing Urban Culture', 20-21.

249. For a short discussion of the Durban municipality's strategy see Marks, **Ambiguities**, 82-84.

250. Champion Papers, Box 15, Champion to Ray Phillips, 9 December 1931.

251. Hirson, 'Tuskegee'.

Indeed, it seems that the joint councils failed to take opportunities that came their way in the early and mid-1930s to consolidate and perhaps extend their influence among Africans. In 1935-1936 the African political elite was emerging from a period of economic recession and dislocation of political efforts. Under these conditions, it was difficult to find the collective and political will to undertake more militant forms of protest.

The crisis in leadership that a number of contemporary commentators noted among the African political elite during the first half of the 1930s, seemed to offer the joint councils considerable scope for extending their influence. The councils, able to draw on whites with the requisite administrative skills and more usable leisure time than Africans, were less affected by the economic recession and the refinement of state repression. There is evidence of a greater willingness, among the more conservatively-inclined African petty bourgeoisie at least, to allow joint councils to take a more direct involvement in African protest politics, the persistent criticism from the pseudonymous 'Enquirer' notwithstanding.[252] In late 1934 Seme formally called for closer co-operation between the ANC and the joint councils. He felt that the greater part of their respective programmes covered common ground and that African leaders could only benefit by association with white joint councillors, 'the best friends ... Africans had'.[253]

As has been argued in the previous chapter, Rheinallt Jones was probably not keen on the joint councils forging any association with African political bodies that would strengthen the protest side of the councils' activities. The SAIRR was designed as a more genteel way of addressing the state. It invoked a discourse - the scientific consideration of race relations -

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252. See correspondence between 'Enquirer' and critics of his viewpoint in **Umteteli wa Bantu**, especially the second half of 1934.

253. **Umteteli wa Bantu**, 29 September 1934.

rather than providing a forum for Africans to express their opposition.

The 'failure' of Africans to make themselves forcibly heard in the joint councils and elsewhere was a source of concern to a number of white activist joint councillors in the earlier 1930s, especially those associated with the JJC. In attempting to open lines of communication with Africans outside the joint councils Macmillan found African leadership 'a disappointment'. He was left with a growing impression

> ... that the few of us have been exaggerating the advance and preparedness of their educated few.... For years their amazing cogency in debate has carried us along ... But they are contributing nothing new - they are not moving clearly - their organizations and their leaders are in chaos.[254]

And Margaret Hodgson, writing in 1933, deplored the passivity and apathy shown by Africans to the new 'repressive legislation'. She argued that a good deal could be done if people were only willing to 'risk the penalties of the Riotous Assembly Act'. Indeed, Hodgson found it 'difficult to understand why, [when] the men go to gaol anyway, on all sorts of other charges', they failed to take the opportunity to do so for 'a decent cause'.[255]

This tendency to blame the victim suggests something of cultural arrogance and myopia on the part of even progressive whites as well as a failure to fully comprehend the structural inequalities faced by Africans at every turn. Such views, however, were not confined to white liberals. The editor of the **African Leader** took African intelligentsia to task for failing to respond to discriminatory legislation: 'the more stringent ... and heartless these laws are, the more we see African intelligence ... unable to rise to the occasion'.[256]

To a considerable extent this malaise can be explained by the refinement

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254. Macmillan, **My South African Years**, 227-228.

255. ICU Records, File 3, Hodgson to Norman Leys, 12 July 1933.

256. **African Leader**, 26 November 1932.

of state repression, the bite of the 1931-1932 economic recession, the organizational disarray in African political and social movements, the repeated failure of previous representations to the government, as well as experiences of state violence in the past.[257] Passivity or the 'dynamics of acquiescence' is a phenomenon which has not been adequately explored in South African historiography.[258] As Hodgson observed, there was a reluctance to experience state action.[259] There is a distinction between the actual application and experience of repressive force and the myth that the state holds the monopoly of coercive force.[260] As both Barrington Moore[261] and Goran Therborn[262] argue, fear and resignation play an important role in ensuring compliance with an exploitative social order.

Closer understanding of the material and symbolic significance of the AAC in the later 1930s, demands a careful analysis of the African political elite in the earlier part of the decade. Though there are one or two specialized and regionally orientated studies, there is still in need of a comprehensive general study. A few preliminary points in this regard must suffice. For one, it could be argued that given the disorganized and demoralized state of African petty bourgeois protest in the earlier 1930s, the formation of the AAC was not unimpressive. Also, as it has been argued elsewhere, while state coercion and economic recession undoubtedly put a damper on protest

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257. E.g. the violence of the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906, police action against African workers in Johannesburg in 1920 and the bombing of white miners in the 1922 strike remained deeply etched on Champion years later. Marks, **Ambiguities**, 107-108.

258. See N. Petryszak, 'The Dynamics of Acquiescence in South Africa', **African Affairs**, LXXV, 301, 1975; and R.J. Haines, 'Resistance and Acquiescence in the Zoutpansburg, 1936-1945: Some Random Thoughts' (History Workshop seminar paper, Wits, 1981) on this point.

259. E.g. Champion told an interviewer: 'I don't believe in a policy of awakening the sleeping dogs when they can bite you and you are not armed.' Cited in Marks, **Ambiguities**, 108.

260. Haines, 'Resistance and Acquiescence'.

261. B. Moore, **Injustice: The Social Base of Obedience and Revolt**, (New York, 1978).

262. Therborn, **The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology**.

activities, it is possible that some major issue was needed to focus African petty bourgeoisie protest politics.[263] In the early 1930s, the Hertzog Bills were still in Committee and perhaps the Riotous Assemblies and Native Service Contract Acts did not sufficiently touch the raw of African elitist aspirations.[264] As far as the more conservative sections of the petty bourgeoisie were concerned, coercive legislative measures at least kept the CPSA and other radical groupings in check, while the Native Service Contract Act probably barely affected their interests.

The assertiveness of the African petty bourgeoisie as a class was partly undermined by their relative lack of marketable skills, a situation made far worse by the thoroughgoing racial segmentation of the labour market. There was not a skills shortage in the economy critical enough to overcome political obstacles to the partial opening up of the economy to educated Africans. During most of the decade openings for Africans in the urban economy were mainly restricted to jobs in teaching, the church, minor clerical positions and journalism. African businessmen were still a small and largely struggling group. There were but a handful of trained lawyers and doctors, and no chartered accountants.[265]

Capital accumulation was difficult because of the play of kinship networks. Even for notables such as Jabavu and John Dube, matters were difficult. On more than one occasion, after being imposed on by his extended family, Jabavu found himself in embarrassing financial circumstances.[266] The broader class dynamics of African political activity are also important here.

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263. Haines, 'The Opposition', 124.

264. 'Perhaps it may be that the laws have not the desired effect on them or that the people who should appreciate their severity have not been affected and can therefore afford to be oblivious to their effects on their unfortunate compatriots who look on them for guidance.' **African Leader**, 26 November 1932.

265. Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', 67-86, especially 79.

266. Catherine Higgs's draft material for a doctoral thesis on D.D.T. Jabavu.

African petty bourgeoisie responded to and even helped initiate broadly co-optive schemes which held the promise of economic rewards.[267] Even activist Africans were receptive to possible alliances of interest. Despite, and partly because of the decline of the Kroonstad council after 1935, both Sello and Mote helped Rheinallt Jones with his 1937 senatorial campaign in the Free State rather than side with either of his more progressive rivals - Ballinger or Basner.[268] In addition, the £100 salaries the NRC offered probably had some bearing on the AAC's failure to adopt a boycott strategy in the 1930s.

A major 'flaw' in the joint councils' strategy in the 1930s, was not simply their diminishing usefulness to Africans as vehicles for politically-charged social reforms, but also their failure to produce a programme catering more directly for African economic aspirations. They fell far short of delivering the economic benefits Aggrey and others had forecast. White businessmen constituted a small percentage of initial joint council members and in most cases had not been actively sought as members.[269] Though businessmen were mostly conservative on overtly political issues, a number favoured a more open economy.[270] Certain of the social reforms pursued by the councils appealed to the altruism of the African members rather than to their immediate economic concerns. Proscribing domestic brewing, establishing V.D. clinics were not high priorities.

The reception of the joint councils by the state was complex. Especially prior to the establishing of the United Party in 1934, Hertzog's ministers, such as Oswald Pirow (the Minister of Justice), Jansen and Grobler (the successive Ministers of Native Affairs), had little time for the councils.

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267. E.g. the Heaton Nicholls - John Dube scheme referred to in chapter 7, 217.

268. Rich, 'Managing Leadership', 188.

269. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Council Minutes, 14 November 1932. Macmillan's farewell address.

270. M. Lipton, **Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa 1910-1986** (Aldershot, 1986), 141.

During an exchange of views which the JJC published in the national press, Pirow branded the councils as 'interfering busybodies'. Pirow, in fact, refused to receive JJC deputations.[271] It is perhaps worth noting that pressures to form a joint council in Evaton during 1938-1940 came not from whites but African businessmen.

The joint councils found the state especially inflexible during this time. The experience of Phillips and Macmillan as members of a JJC deputation to Jansen, was captured by Margery Perham, an Oxford historian on a research visit to the country:

> They told us how they went to see Jansen, the Native Affairs Minister, and how he did at least allow them to talk as long as they liked. But at the end he said: 'Gentlemen, there is one road for the white and another for the black and they never meet. Segregation.' Yet the whole point of what they had said was that segregation was impossible, had already been abandoned for the convenience of the white man.[272]

In some sections of the civil service there was a more measured attitude towards the joint councils. This is indicated by the Report of the 1930-1932 Native Economic Commission which maintained that the councils had helped bring about 'a much better understanding among Europeans of Native needs and desires'.[273] The councils seem to have had a fairly cordial relationship with more progressive-minded officials in the Departments of Labour and Native Affairs, but the possibility of ministerial disapproval especially in the case of the NAD, meant that contact had to be circumspect.[274] Increasingly in the 1930s the dealings of the joint councils with state departments were mediated through the Institute, with Rheinallt Jones and Hoernle, in particular carrying out

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271. **Cape Times**, 27 February 1932.

272. Perham, **African Apprenticeship**, 151-152.

273. UG 22-'32 **Report of the Native Economic Commission 1930-1932**, 99, para. 680.

274. 'The Minister is so opposed to our having anything to do with these joint councils that if you are asked to attend you had better consult him first'. SAB, NTS 7204, 16/326, Smit, the Secretary for Native Affairs, to Allison, 27 May 1937.

much of this work. However, with the Native Affairs Commission taking a reactionary line in the early 1930s and after, the space for liaison with sympathetic officials such as D.L. Smit declined:

> ... suspicion and hostility in the quarters of the NAC [wrote Hoernle] makes it harder for Smit et. al. to work with us. It is not good for him to have always to be on the defensive, over against the politicians, because of his dealings with us **kaffirboeties.**[275]

Most of the general populace were passive concerning joint council operations. However, a reactionary group of people regarded the councillors as a 'small but active group of extreme negrophilists' who have 'done more than anyone to poison relations between Europeans and natives'.[276] This group established the 'The Council of Europeans' in Pretoria in direct opposition to the joint councils on the Rand, the JJC in particularly and received some support from the Afrikaans press.[277]

CONCLUSION

During the earlier 1930s, there was an expansion of the numbers and activities of the joint councils. However, this expansion was generally fragile and unconsolidated. Joint councils failed to take opportunities that came their way, especially in the early and mid-1930s, to consolidate and perhaps extend their constituency among Africans. The reasons are not only to be found in the emergence of a more self-confident African petty bourgeoisie, which was beginning to develop or rejuvenate its political movements, but also in the failure to supply better services.

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275. SAIRR II, B3.8, Hoernle to Rheinallt Jones, 10 May 1936.

276. Reported in **Cape Times**, 22 July 1931.

277. **Ibid.**

CHAPTER 9

THE RURAL JOINT COUNCILS, C.1930-1950

'A most encouraging feature of the joint council movement', Rheinallt Jones reported in 1931, 'is the growing number of councils formed in rural villages. The European population is usually very small while the surrounding native population is considerable.'[1] He listed Eshowe, Mapumulo, Sawoti (Umzinto) and Zoutpansberg as 'good examples' of what can be achieved in such districts.[2] The Mapumulo and Zoutpansberg Joint Councils were the most authentically 'rural' and will be the focus of this discussion. Eshowe, while abutting Zululand reserves, was more of a town than a rural village and its Joint Council had its own peculiar dynamic. In its earlier years, the Council appears to have been used by officials from the NAD and the Native Education Department of the Natal Provincial Administration to supplement their activities in the region.[3] Certain joint councils, while not directly addressing themselves to agriculture in reserves and other African rural areas, could be regarded as part of a broader and more amorphous category of 'rural' joint councils. The Heilbron Joint Council, based in a small OFS rural town, had as a major concern the 'easing' of tensions on white-owned farm land.[4]

The rural councils were set up in a context of simmering protest - particularly in parts of Natal, the Free State and Transvaal. Despite the fragmentation of the ICU and the escalation of state repression, there was

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1. SAIRR, **SAIRR 2nd Annual Report**, 1931, 55.

2. The Umzinto body was not a joint council as such, but rather a small committee of whites and blacks which organized periodic agricultural shows.

3. JCR, Ce4.1, F. Rodseth to Rheinallt Jones, 7 June 1929; J.B. Theunissen to Rheinallt Jones, 14 Novembe 1932.

4. For instance, a committee of the Council undertook a fairly thorough investigation of African labour o white owned farms. On this basis it attempted to secure, through the SAIRR, the revision of the Masters' and Servants' Act. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1931, 59-60.

still considerable opportunity for political mobilization of rural Africans. With the capitalization of the countryside, the squeeze on African labour tenants and share-croppers on white agricultural land - as well as African communities on other categories of non-reserve land - intensified.[5] This contributed to overcrowding in the reserves and a general decline in per capita agricultural production in these areas. The application of the 1936 Land Act reinforced rather than ameliorated pressure on the land in many parts of South Africa.[6]

The announcement in 1929 of the appointment of the Native Economic Commission to examine the conditions of Africans in the urban and rural areas, was partly an attempt to better comprehend the causes of African unrest. This Commission was generally seen by liberals as an indication that the state was prepared to turn in the direction of a progressive policy of development in the reserves. However, time was to show this as misplaced optimism. The nature of state intervention in African rural areas was to enforce a form of retribalization at the expense of the rural petty bourgeoisie, whether actual or aspirant. Among other things, there was a shift towards a prescription of communal as opposed to individual tenure of land - a move which undermined the development of petty capitalist farming.

This trend of policy posed problems for missionary effort which was

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5. See Haines and Cross, 'Historical Overview of Land Policy', 73-84.

6. Edith Rheinallt Jones's comments on the changes in African landholding in the Zoutpansberg district gives some idea of the process: 'The really scandalous thing is ... that where there is European cupidity for traditional native land for European penetration, native claims are pushed aside ... in the Zoutpansberg District ... valuable land has been excised making an island of a considerable mission and native owned area.... I feel so strongly on this question of exchanges ... There is, since the 1939 amendments [to the schedule of the 1936 Land Act], no security in any released area, scarcely in a 1913 scheduled area. If good native land is excised or expropriated there is a danger that it will have to replaced by land in in-accessible areas not even suited for farming at all. The law provides for land of equal pastoral or agricultural value but does not take account of accessibility or markets and labour areas, roads, railways, possibilities of amenities.' Rheinallt Jones Papers, Land Affairs, B 5, E. Rheinallt Jones to D. Molteno, 8 June 1940.

already hamstrung in many cases by lack of funds.[7] It became well nigh impossible for missions to purchase additional land for their members. In general they became more reluctant to parcel off existing land on individual title. Moreover, the state became increasingly unsympathetic to requests for the granting of such title in these reserves. As land hunger increased, there was a growth in resentment among non-kholwa communities towards white-dominated missions occupying land adjacent to the reserves.[8] Moreover, the joint councils offered a possible means diverting some unwanted African attention from the more problematical aspects of mission activities.[9] Several missions began to develop new or strengthen existing ties with urban-based liberals who, it was hoped, would assist in matters such as the raising of funds and the sympathetic lobbying of government.[10] Among the missions in general could be detected signs of a more development-orientated approach by as a means of maintaining their constituency in the countryside.[11]

The was some overlapping of interest between the missions and a small number of progressive-minded farmers. These farmers were generally open to the idea of creating a more secure and less indigent peasantry in the reserves. This they saw as a means of stabilizing the labour force and stimu-

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7. Interview by Dr. G. Buijs with Miss Helga Giesekke, Louis Trichardt, 12 April 1991. Miss Giesekke is a key source on mission history in the Northern Transvaal.

8. SAB, K 26, Native Economic Commission, Minutes of evidence, Louis Trichardt, 5 August 1930, Mr Shipango, 174.

9. This is suggested in JCR, Rev. Cuenod to Rheinallt Jones, 1 August 1931.

10. See e.g. SAIRR, B53.3, Rheinallt Jones to Secretary for Native Affairs, 24 November 1932.

11. The work of Fr. Bernard Huss of Marianhill Monastery in Natal was pioneering in this regard, but there were signs of a shift among other missions. See e.g. E.H. Brookes (compiler) **A Century of Missions in Natal and Zululand** (Durban, 1936), 44-49; H. Davis (compiler) **Some South African Missionary Institutions** (Rhodes University, 1953).

lating the rural economy.[12] However, they were just as concerned about control of rural Africans as were other white farmers.[13] This is not to say that their philanthropism was wholly instrumental. There is evidence, for instance, of kinship ties between white farmers and missionaries.[14]

The African petty bourgeoisie in the rural areas were coming under increasing strain and were actively considering new strategies of survival. It became very difficult for individuals and syndicates to purchase land in demarcated African areas,[15] and generally options for socio-economic advancement narrowed. In Natal sections of the petty bourgeoisie found an outlet in alliance with the traditional chiefs and the Zulu Royal family.[16] In other regions there was a rediscovery or construction of links with traditional society.[17] Nevertheless, this process was anything but uniform and there was still much hostility to chiefship and the 'backwardness' that it reinforced within rural social life.[18] What was becoming clear was that new alliances had to be forged by the petty bourgeoisie to compensate for the decline in efficacy of older forms of resources such as those offered by the missions.

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12. Consider e.g. the evidence of farm manager C.R. Macgregor to the Native Economic Commission: 'I think if one could get the native to do agriculture in this better manner he would be quite so liable to run away to towns; he would be available for labour in the area because of the fact that he would have an amount of produce for sale.' SAB, K 26, Native Economic Commission, Minutes of evidence, Louis Trichardt, 5 August 1930, 241. See also Rheinallt Jones Papers, S2, Fort Edward Farmers' Association, Memorandum of Evidence given the District Committee on Chapter 4 of the 1936 Land Act, c.1939.

13. Helen Bradford provides some interesting material on the outlook and calculations of white progressive farmers in **A Taste of Freedom**, 169-182.

14. E.g. the father of H.S. Phillips, a prominent local farmer and the long-serving chairman of the Zoutpansberg Joint Council (ZJC), was a missionary in Johannesburg. Phillip's wife was the daughter of Rev. Creamns, the founder of the Elim Mission Station in the Zoutpansberg. **Bantu World**, 4 February 1933.

15. See Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', 115-117.

16. See discussion on this point in chapter 7.

17. Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', 115-117.

18. See e.g. the evidence given by Gilpin Tshangana, Assistant-secretary of Port Elizabeth Native Welfare Society to the Native Economic Commission. SAB, K 26, Native Economic Commission, Minutes of evidence, Port Elizabeth, 26 March 1931, 6006-6026. Cf. the evidence of James Dippa, also of that Society, **Ibid.**, 5866-5888.

As an editor of a African newspaper serving the northern Transvaal pointed out:

> The programme of the Joint Council ... is a big step forward. In early days the missionary was single handed but in spite of that progress was attained. Now that there are other forces at work, we have every reason to hope that the coming years will witness yet greater awakening of the Bantu in all directions[19]

At a general level then, the rural joint councils - with a few progressive white farmers, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and other less defined groups among their membership - partly secularized and reinforced the emerging development concerns of the missions involved.

External factors were also important in the formation of the rural joint councils. The SAIRR hierarchy, Rheinallt Jones in particular, saw the joint councils as playing a key role in the presentation of evidence to the Native Economic Commission.[20] Indeed, this is one of the reasons for the establishment of a number of new councils during 1930-1931.[21] The Commission's Report with its 'repeated emphasis' on a 'progressive agricultural policy in the Native Reserves'[22] constituted an important touchstone in the formulation of policy objectives for the rural joint councils.[23] Rural joint councils were explicitly promoted by Rheinallt Jones and others as agents of development in the countryside.[24] By the end of the 1920s 'development' had become a watchword in liberal and philanthropic circles.[25] Domestically, contributions to this emerging discourse were informed by the writings of Macmillan, Brookes

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19. **Valdezia Bulletin**, September 1931.

20. Rheinallt Jones Papers, SAIRR 33/33, Brief Report on the Joint Council Movement, 1933, 3.

21. **Ibid.**

22. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report** 1932, 33.

23. **Ibid.**, 33-34; SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1933, 45-46.

24. **Ibid.**, 1931, 55-56.

25. E.g. rural development was a specific item on the agenda of the 1929 European-Bantu Conference.

and others, as well as the promotional work of Fr. Bernard Huss on co-operatives.[26] This interest was also influenced by burgeoning debate on development in interwar Britain which dealt particularly with the administration of colonial possessions.[27] Furthermore, during the 1930s liberal intellectuals with South African connections were also to play a part in the critique and rethinking of British colonial policy in Africa.[28] There was considerable emphasis on the need to institute progressive agricultural institutions and practices with prescriptions often taking the form of an early modernization approach.[29]

From the foregoing it can be seen why the improvement of agriculture practices was an important concern of the rural joint councils. Under the rubric of agricultural improvement, a range of interests could be accommodated. For the petty bourgeoisie there was the chance, albeit slim, of getting some financial or development resources from the state. Moreover, it could be argued that this class saw a means of extending their influence among rural Africans in general through setting themselves at the forefront of an ostensibly progressive movement. In a sense too, by working with and through the medium of the joint councils on this matter, the missions were in a position to retread their historic and ideological emphasis on agricultural practices and skills. On a more abstract level, the emphasis by sympathetic whites on the improvement of African agriculture was not especially controversial; at best it did no more than tangentially confront the fundamental inequality of African access to land and resources.

The promotion of improved farming was closely related to a second con-

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26. Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 413-440.

27. Haines, 'Liberalism, Race and Empire'.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.; Rich, 'The Dilemmas', 451-465.

cern of the rural joint councils - the maintenance of stability in terms of labour supply and social relations. In the latter regard the rural joint councils were a mirror image of urban joint councils. H.S. Phillips, a progressive farmer and prominent member of the Zoutpansberg Joint Council, gives some idea of the 'rural' view in a letter to Rheinallt Jones:

> The old system under which the rural native went to town to work for a maximum period of over 9 months appears to be breaking down ... in very many ways it was an excellent system. If the provision of the [Native Servant COntract] Act requiring the return of the native after a limited time were only strictly enforced it would be good as the native would be forced to keep in touch with his family in the country ... Strictly speaking only urban natives actually born in the towns should be classed as urban natives.[30]

A concern with keeping Africans on the land was probably more expressive of the general orientation of white opinion on the councils, but there is little doubt that the African members were also concerned with social stability.[31]

It should be stressed, however, that while the rural joint councils had a good deal in common in terms of certain of their broad objectives, the ways in which they were used at the local level differed noticeably. In this regard the particularities of the strategies and calculations of the African petty bourgeoisie concerned had a significant impact on the operations of rural joint councils.

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30. SAIRR Records, B 9, File 4.1, Phillips to Rheinallt Jones, 24 October 1933.

31. Much research needs to be done on the perceptions, internal stratification and dynamics, as well as strategies of the African petty bourgeoisie that lived in the various categories of rural areas in South Africa. The term rural petty bourgeoisie is, after all, a shorthand notion, and generalizations about these social actors must therefore be open-ended. Nevertheless, one could argue that a concern with social stability and control emerges in a number of the productions and prescriptions of this class. Admittedly this concern appears to have been more clearly enunciated among those who saw themselves, or were seen as constituting an upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie (the so-called 'Ama-Respectables') but given the rather precarious structural position rural petty bourgeoisie it is not surprising that there is an underlying pre-occupation with establishing more social order in the countryside. This was evident in an enthusiasm for establishing pathfinder and wayfarer detachments - which provided a means of gaining a measure of control of the recreational activities of African youths - and in the promotion of regimens and punctuality. These themes can be found in small African publications such as the **Valdezia Bulletin**. A further pre-occupation was to define more coherently and authoritatively their relationship with the rural African masses. On this point see e.g. Swiss Mission in South Africa Records, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, ZJC Secretary to Rheinallt Jones, 20 November 1942.

Both the Mapumulo and Zoutpansberg Joint Councils had strong links with large mission training institutions - respectively the Lutheran-run Umpumulo Institution,[32] and the Swiss Mission training centre and hospital complex at Elim.[33] Both mission institutions had to respond to insecurity of tenure and growing land hunger by Africans which placed increased pressure on mission lands. It was not surprising therefore that they paid more attention during the 1930s and after, to ways of maximizing land use through the promotion of 'progressive' agricultural techniques and related schemes to provide additional or compensatory land for African peasants. In the early 1930s Umpumulo's T.M. Leisegang attempted to raise funds to buy a large white-owned farm which would be turned into 'a mutual concern of natives settling on a model farm with sites for villages, cane, grazing, schools and churches, with three European Trustees behind'.[34] At Elim as well, the Swiss Mission hierarchy began thinking in the 1930s of creating an agricultural institution.[35]

The Mapumulo Joint Council (MJC) never was as active a body as its Zoutpansberg counterpart. It had a smaller membership and was more conservative in its general makeup. Constitutionally, the MJC was bound to deal with only non-political matters,[36] which may explain its quiescence on matters such as the Native Service Contract Act, against which the Zoutpansberg

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32. E.g. Revs. Rindall and Leisegang of Umpumulo were leading members of the Mapumulo Joint Council. For a brief history of the Umpumulo Institution see Davies, **Some South African Missionary Institutions**, 11-14. Umpumulo was north of Durban and 16 miles south of the Tugela River, thus providing 'a door to Zululand'. **Ibid.**, 12.

33. R.J Haines, 'Resistance and Acquiescence in the Zoutpansberg, 1936-1945' (History Workshop paper, Wits University, 1981). For further discussion on the Swiss Mission complex in the Zoutpansberg area see Surplu Peoples Project, **Forced Removals in South Africa: The Transvaal**, Vol V, (Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town, 1983), 158-159.

34. JCR, Cm2.1, T.M. Leisegang to Rheinallt Jones, 2 February 1931.

35. Swiss Mission Records, Swiss Missions Farms 1, H.R. Mingard, 'A Proposal to Establish a Native Rural Institution at Elim Hospital', n.d. See also related memorandum, 'Le Pain Quotidien Report sur le Developpement Economique de Nose Fermes', 1941.

36. JCR, Cm2.2, Mapumulo Joint Council (MJC), Constitution.

council campaigned.[37] Prominent in this Council were veteran social reformers Lewis and Jessie Hertslet. Lewis was the Council's chairman for most of its active life. He became something of an authority on markets for African agricultural production, following the establishment of a 'native market' in Mapumulo at the end of the 1930s[38] - the first such market in South Africa. Hertslet saw markets as crucial to any scheme for the improvement of African agricultural production.[39] There was, however, a distinct segregationist bent to his views. He argued that such markets would 'allow the natives to "develop along their own lines" '[40]

One gets the impression that the MJC's African members were less clear as to their strategy and tactics than were their counterparts in the Zoutpansberg Joint Council (ZJC). This could be partly ascribed to the way the Council was run and the distinct paternalism of the white hierarchy.[41] These factors hampered the development of a sense of common purpose on certain fundamental issues such as securing substantive participation in the administration of the mission reserve[42] as well as obtaining freehold title there. On the latter point, as one African put it, 'the whole structure of native welfare in the Mission Reserves depend[s] upon the provision for freehold'.[43] However, most

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37. See e.g. JCR, Cz2.4, Zoutpansberg Joint Council (ZJC) Minutes, 4 March 1932; 5 August 1932.

38. JCR, Cm2m3, MJC Annual Report, 1941; SAIRR Records, B10.10, J. Hertslet, 'Native Markets', c.1940.

39. A number of progressive rural developmental specialists in South Africa today also stress the importance of providing markets. Discussion with Catherine Cross, Pretoria, 17 July 1989.

40. SAIRR Records, B10.10, Hertslet, 'Native Markets', 2.

41. Herslet appears to have been one of the main culprits in this regard, running the council in a stern, even patriarchal fashion - perhaps befitting his fundamentalist non-conformist background. For instance, the recording secretary, a certain M.D. Mkize, was formally rebuked by Hertslet in his capacity of chairman for daring to make some suggestions about possible MJC activity in his draft of its 1941 annual report. JCR, Cm2.3, MJC Annual Report, 1943.

42. JCR, Cm2.4, MJC Minutes, 10 February 1931; Cm2.1, Rindall to Saffery, 3 November 1934.

43. **Ibid.**, 10 February 1931.

if not all white members favoured a leasehold formula and were anxious not to disturb 'the wholesome relationship existing between the Government and the Missions'.[44]

A lack of progress on these questions may have rendered the rural petty bourgeoisie more willing to explore accommodationist policies with the traditional chiefs. Charles Mpanza, the secretary of the Zulu Society from its inception in 1936 was a member of the MJC in the 1930s,[45] and his experiences probably helped shape his views on the usefulness of mobilizing Zulu ethnicity for petty bourgeois ends. In 1936 the council was apparently successful in managing to interest the local chiefs in the work of the joint council,[46] and kept in touch in the late 1930s with the Zulu Society.[47]

Most of the MJC's activities were of an uncontroversial welfarist kind. These included sponsoring sports days, agricultural shows, home improvement competitions and setting up a night school for herd boys.[48] The establishment of a local 'native market' was essentially Hertslet's project.[49] In contrast, African members were left to their own devices in the early 1940s to implement their scheme for a co-operative society.[50] With insufficient support from both whites and Africans, the scheme never got off the ground. The MJC was active until 1943, and thereafter appears to have declined rapidly. Evidence is only circumstantial as to the reasons for the demise of the Council, but it does appear that apathy and organizational factors had the major impact in

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44. **Ibid.**

45. See e.g. JCR, Cm2.4, MJC Minutes, 11 November 1930; Cm2.3, MJC Annual Report, 1935 and 1936.

46. JCR, Ab2, CC 15/36, Joint Council News, January-November 1936.

47. JCR, Cm2.1, L. Hertslet to Saffery, 3 January 1938.

48. JCR, Cm2.1, general correspondence; Cm2.3, MJC Annual Reports.

49. **Ibid.**, Cm2.3, MJC Annual Report, 1942.

50. **Ibid.**, Cm2.1, Rindall to Honorary Secretary, Consultative Committee, 11 May 1940, enclosing a copy of MJC Minutes, 14 April 1940.

this regard.[51]

The ZJC was more involved in conditioning African petty bourgeoisie strategy and tactics than its Mapumulo counterpart.[52] It is against this backdrop that African participation in the ZJC needs to be considered. A high percentage of the petty bourgeoisie in the far northern Transvaal were minority Tsonga-speakers and did not have secure historical tenancy to their land. They often found themselves under districts dominated by Venda or North Sotho chiefs.[53] Consequently, as Harries stresses, they appealed to 'an ethnicity that stretched well beyond the borders of the individual chiefdoms [which] gave them a source of political power, at the regional level that was not controlled by the chiefs'.[54]

Historically mission activity in the Zoutpansberg region was divided between the Berlin and Swiss missions -- a division which was demarcated by the Levubu river.[55] Crudely speaking, the Berlin mission focussed its efforts amongst the Venda-speaking chiefdoms which were more homogeneous and stratified societies.[56] It encountered more resistance to its activities than its Swiss counterpart.[57] The latter worked amongst more disparate groups, many of them recent migrants to the area. As Harries argues, the Swiss mission, in its sphere of operations in the north-eastern Transvaal established a Tsonga

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51. JCR, Cm2.1, W.O. Rindall to Acting Director of SAIRR, 4 October 1947. JCR, Cm2.1, W.O. Rindall to Acting Director of SAIRR, 4 October 1947; Cm2.3, MJC Annual Report, 1943.

52. For a more detailed discussion of the ZJC and its African members see Haines, 'Resistance and Acquiescence'.

53. P. Harries, 'Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity of among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa' in L. Vail, **The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa** (London 1989), 100.

54. **Ibid.**

55. G.Buijs, 'The Kaiser's Bodyguard and Mrs Cohen's Kosher Kitchen: The Creation of Lemba Ethnicity in the Northern Transvaal', draft of research paper, 1991.

56. **Ibid.**

57. Interview by G. Buijs with Miss Helga Giesekke, Louis Trichardt, 12 April 1991.

'tribal' identity for its constituents through the artificial demarcation of cultural and linguistic boundaries.[58] The rise of a class of emergent petty bourgeois farmers literate in missionary-constructed vernacular, saw the beginnings of the transformation of classificatory ethnicity. A Tsonga ethnic consciousness emerged, shaped by conflict with traditional chiefs and growing ethnic identity by industrial workers.[59] The Swiss Mission was a crucial institution in this process. It controlled Lemana - the only senior educational institution for Africans in the north-eastern Transvaal - and its annual synod was the only institution linking literate Tsonga-speakers throughout the Transvaal. Furthermore, the political ideology of the mission was steeped in the self-help schemes of Booker T. Washington as well as the idea that the Tsonga constituted a single 'tribe'.[60] By the early 1930s there was a conscious mobilization of ethnicity within the north-eastern Transvaal. This was partly a response to social and economic dislocation and a deep sense of insecurity of tenure as relatively recent immigrants to the region.[61] It was also influenced by the increasing assertiveness of the more politically homogeneous and self-confident ethnic groups such as the Swazi and Zulu. As a local African newspaper observed:

> We want to arise ... nearly all our brothers have risen. The Zulus have their national paper, the Xhosas have their national paper ... the different Bantu tribes are getting up. Our second aim is to create what we call the 'Shangaans' National Pride'.... A third aim is to present Shangaan idioms and the language of today.[62]

This newspaper, the **Valdezia Bulletin**, later **The Light**, a monthly newspaper

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58. Harries, 'Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism', 85-90.

59. **Ibid.**, 100-103.

60. **Ibid.**, 100.

61. **Ibid.**, 101.

62. **Valdezia Bulletin**, August 1934, cited by Harries, 'Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism', 101.

distributed in the northern Transvaal, [63] was closely bound up with the ZJC. It was run by D.C. Marivate a teacher, and an active member of the Council. Apart from its advocacy of Tsonga ethnicity, it also called more broadly for increased African economic assertion. For instance:

> As individuals or as a nation we still suffer from this great malady of all backward races: We are not at all independent, we fail to do things for ourselves. If anything has to be done we always look for assistance elsewhere and this is bad for the character of the nation and even for any individual... Independent (sic) and Self-reliance are moral virtues and throughout the History of man we notice that wars and personal obstacles in nearly every walk of life have been overcome by Moral virtues .... Economic Independence is very essential if we are to build schools, churches, own land and to open business.[64]

The ZJC, Harries suggests, was a key institution for Tsonga-speaking petty bourgeoisie in the north-eastern Transvaal.[65] However, the Council was not explicitly used to promote a Tsonga identity. This was carried out more through channels such as the **Valdezia Bulletin.** In a sense the ZJC offered a means for the Tsonga-speaking petty bourgeoisie to establish links with smaller petty bourgeoisie groups and to promote a more ecumenical ideological line. It is useful to view the ZJC as a site for a number of intersecting networks. The African membership was dominated by teachers and clergy. Most of the teachers were active members of the Zoutpansberg branch of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA). There was usually a chief or two among the members. A minority of the members came from the Louis Trichardt township with the remainder living on various types of rural lands.[66] A high proportion of the latter category were small part-time farmers or had aspirations in that direction. Representatives of the Swiss Mission and the progressive white farmers who were members of the ZJC were usually part of the economic

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63. This newspaper commenced operation in 1931. Some copies of it can be found in the D.C. Marivate Papers, Documentation Centre, University of South Africa.

64. **The Light**, November 1937.

65. Harries, 'Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism', 100.

66. Haines, 'Resistance and Acquiescence'.

relationships entered into by the African members.[67] A number of teachers had rent-free tenancy on mission land - a 'perk' presumably given to those who taught in the Lemana Institution. Some ZJC African members occupied white farmland held in the name of a missionary Rev. A.A. Jacques.[68] Farmers on the ZJC helped in terms of providing agricultural advice and other resources on a small scale.[69] It is likely that they rented some land to certain African ZJC members as well. A number of Council members were involved in the training and supervision of Pathfinder and Wayfarer detachments.[70]

An important external factor in this equation was Rheinallt Jones who maintained relatively close contact with the ZJC.[71] There was a personal dimension too; the Rheinallt Joneses had a fairly strong friendship with ZJC chairman, H.S. Phillips and his wife.[72] On another level, Rheinallt Jones saw the Council as a source of support for his candidature for the Senate in both 1937 and 1942.[73] From the ZJC side, especially after he had become a senator, Rheinallt Jones was seen as someone who could pull strings in Pretoria in dealing with queries and grievances, particularly regarding the restructuring of African rural land under the 1936 Land and Trust Act. He was also used to explain the complexities and arbitrariness of administrative policy.[74]

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67. Ibid.

68. See e.g. SAIRR Records, B 101.7, S. Ramaite to Rheinallt Jones, 30 June 1941.

69. JCR, Cz2.4, ZJC Minutes, 1931-1956; Cz2.5.3, poster entitled 'Prosperity for the Bantu'.

70. Haines, 'Resistance and Acquiescence'.

71. JCR, Cz2.1, general correspondence.

72. This is referred to i.a. in Rheinallt Jones papers, J.C. Mashile to Rheinallt Jones, 25 August 1939; Edith Rheinallt Jones Papers, E. Rheinallt Jones to Phillips, 8 October 1940.

73. Haines, 'Resistance and Acquiescence'.

74. See e.g. Rheinallt Jones Papers, Land Affairs, B 5, for rich material on Jones' activities on land matters. Edith Rheinallt Jones in the early 1940s took over some of her husband's work in this regard and did a good deal of research into land matters in the Zoutpansberg area.

It was this network of interests, which on some levels at least was counterpoised to broader popular struggles in the district. Rural tension in the Zoutpansberg area increased throughout the 1930s and developed into open resistance in the first half of the 1940s when reserves in the area were declared 'betterment zones'.[75] The protest was co-ordinated by the Zoutpansberg Association (ZA) led by Alpheus Maliba, an activist with CPSA links.[76] Hymie Basner, Rheinallt Jones's opponent in the 1937 and 1942 senatorial elections, identified with these struggles during the late 1930s and 1940s in terms of providing legal help and advising the ZA.[77]

Politically there was a contrast between the strategies adopted on national and local levels by the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie in the Zoutpansberg region. For example, the Transvaal African Teachers' Association as a provincial body was becoming more militant on a national level in the later 1930s - a process the Zoutpansberg branch appear to have supported. However, in terms of their general orientation to mounting rural protest, the African members of the ZJC, including the teachers, seem to have taken a low-key approach. After Rheinallt Jones's election defeat in 1942 the ZJC sent a note of condolence pointing out that

> ... the present electoral system does not allow the educated and more responsible Bantu people to make their voice heard... The Joint Council would urge you not to be discouraged by the disappointing hazards of political life, but rather to feel that you have the confidence not only of those Europeans who wish the welfare of the native people, (sic) but also that of that section of the Africans which is more enlightened and understands best where lies the true interest of their race.[78]

Baruch Hirson sees the membership of the Joint Council as reason enough

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75. One result of this action was the significant reduction of land allotments.

76. For a discussion of rural resistance in the Zoutpansberg during this period, see B. Hirson, 'Rural Revolt in South Africa, 1937-1951' (ICS seminar paper, London University, 1977); Haines, 'Resistance and Acquiescence'.

77. See Hirson, 'Rural Revolt'.

78. Swiss Mission in South Africa Records, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, ZJC Secretary to Rheinallt Jones, 20 November 1942.

for the fact that few teachers participated in the ZA-led protest.[79] However, the ethnic dimension needs to be taken into account. The ZJC had consistently looked beyond ethnic boundaries in pressing petty bourgeoisie claims. It campaigned for greater economic self-assertion by Africans,[80] and quite self-consciously sought to raise the status and influence of 'educated Africans' in the region.[81] Nevertheless, there were difficulties in the way of the mainly Tsonga-speaking petty bourgeoisie establishing a constituency among the Venda-speaking people. For one, there was considerable bitterness among the latter regarding the lack of secondary schooling in their vernacular [82] - a situation that had only been partly attended to by the early 1940s.[83] There were also signs of an emerging Venda ethnic movement at the time, with support from certain Rand-based petty bourgeoisie.[84] In addition, the protest coalesced to a considerable degree around the traditional Venda chiefs,[85] with whom the Tsonga-speaking petty bourgeoisie had an uneasy relationship.[86]

While the ZJC appears to have lost vigour after the early 1940s, it nevertheless remained in existence until the late 1950s. Its operations were effectively inhibited by the trend of state policy in the rural areas of the north-eastern Transvaal. The implementation of the 1953 Bantu Education Act

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79. Hirson, **Yours for the Union**, 130.

80. E.g. **The Light**, November 1937.

81. See comments in Swiss Mission Records, Report on South African Railways Motor Service.

82. SAIRR, B 53.6, Notes of interview with Phillips by E. Rheinallt Jones, 30 December 1940.

83. See e.g. **Ibid.**, B 65.7.1, Education in Vendaland: Notes of a discussion held at the Helping Hand Club, Johannesburg, 11 January 1942.

84. **Ibid.**

85. SAIRR B53, Headman Mahatlane to Rheinallt Jones, 8 December 1941.

86. The ZJC had entered into dialogue with local Venda chiefs in the 1930s and 1940s, but had not managed to establish any substantive alliance of interest. Among the possible reasons for this was that the chiefs were wary of the Councils ideas about reforming the institution of chiefship. JCR, Report by H.S. Phillips, 17 October 1947; Rheinallt Jones Papers, C2, C. Chamberlain to Rheinallt Jones, 1 January 1940.

brought mission education increasingly under state control. While this shift probably affected Lemana less than those mission-run schools and training institutions with more diverse constituencies, it helped undercut the already limited patronage networks of the Swiss Mission and the ZJC. Moreover, the efforts of the state to retribalize the reserves on a quasi-ethnic basis had a detrimental effect on the self-confidence of the Tsonga-speaking petty bourgeoisie. This was expressed, for example, in the marked decline in agricultural effort on Swiss Mission farms from the mid-1950s onwards.[87] In the 1960s and 1970s large sections of Tsonga-speakers - and those thought to be Tsonga-speakers - were forcibly removed from the Zoutpansberg district to areas in present-day Gazankulu.[88]

CONCLUSION

This chapter has pointed out that rural joint councils were set up in the context of rural protest and a growing squeeze on various categories of African-held or occupied rural land. Attention was focussed on two of the rural joint councils, namely Mapumulo and Zoutpansberg, and it is suggested that the dynamics of local conditions were important determinants of their respective performances. Also important in this regard were the ways in which the petty bourgeoisie chose to use the joint councils, as well as the internal constraints within the councils to such deployment. African members used the ZJC more actively than did their counterparts on the MJC. The bulk of the ZJC's members were Tsonga-speakers and the Council should be seen as part of their response to a structural insecurity in terms of their right to land in the Zoutpansberg. The Council was used to articulate a modernizing self-help vision and to strengthen links with non-Tsonga-speaking petty bourgeoisie. By

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87. Surplus Peoples Project, **Forced Removals**, Vol V, 168. For a broader discussion of the impact of state policies in this region see 158-170.

88. Ibid.

such means it was hoped to establish a broadly based petty bourgeoisie grouping which would have a dominant influence among Africans in the region.

By contrast, although evidence is thin, it seems that the Mapumulo Council did not help the local petty bourgeoisie articulate a sufficiently coherent means of establishing their class position vis-a-vis the surrounding society. Its momentum was provided mostly by its limited welfare functions.

CHAPTER TEN

...THEY ONLY FADE AWAY? JOINT COUNCILS 1940-C.1955

On the whole, the 1940s and 1950s constituted a period of significant decline for the joint councils. The 1950s, with the advent of the apartheid state, was a particularly corrosive time. Despite this process of national fragmentation and dissolution, a number of joint councils remained surprisingly resilient. Grahamstown continued until the late 1960s, Durban until the early 1970s, while Bloemfontein officially closed down in January 1991.

The decline of the joint councils was paralleled by the growth of more activist and populist forms of African protest politics in the 1940s and in the 1950s. A central determinant of this burgeoning protest was the heightened influx of migrants from the rural to the urban areas[1] - a process stimulated by wartime industrial growth and deteriorating conditions in the reserves and on white farms. Deteriorating living conditions for large sections of the urban masses led to large-scale and technically illegal occupation by squatters of township and peri-urban land, to bus boycotts and other mass action. A considerable proportion of African industrial workers were organized and there was a corresponding increase in worker militancy. The 1946 African mineworkers' strike can be seen as a watershed in this regard. It was brutally suppressed by the state but nonetheless mobilized support for the workers right across the black political spectrum.[2] The younger African political intelligentsia began to actively consider the possibilities of mass activism and the NRC on 26 November adjourned itself indefinitely.

The 1940s saw the rejuvenation of the ANC under Dr A.B. Xuma who assumed the presidency in 1940. Internal tensions persisted however. A significant

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1. Between 1939 and 1952 the urban African population almost doubled. Most of this increase came from the rural-urban migration of whole families. Lodge, **Black Politics**, 11.

2. Cobley, 'The Black Petty Bourgeoisie', 301.

development was the formation of the African Youth League in 1943 by younger intellectuals within Congress. 'Africanism' was initially the dominant strand of thinking in the League which stressed the need to develop African assertiveness and self-reliance.[3] At the 1949 annual conference the Youth Leaguers established themselves on the ANC executive, replaced Xuma with Dr Moroka and passed the Programme of Action which set Congress on the path to mass protest in the 1950s. The formation of the Congress Alliance in 1954 - comprising the Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the ANC as senior partner - confirmed increasing co-operation with non-African movements and the broadening of the base of black protest politics.

The response of the United Party administration to these developments within African politics was not entirely repressive. In September 1939 Smuts carried the majority of the United Party with him in declaring war against Germany and Hertzog went into political opposition.[4] During the earlier war years there seemed a possibility that the state would become more reformist-minded and move away from crude segregationism. Smuts's address to an SAIRR meeting in early 1942 in which he reputedly declared segregation to have fallen on evil days, was taken as an important portent of future native policy.[5] With an Allied victory becoming increasingly likely after late 1942, the South African state took a less conciliatory line. Despite the retention of mild reformism on the social and economic fronts, reforms on the political front were negligible. Indeed, in the closing stages of the war and after, there were signs of increased authoritarianism.[6] For example, in 1946 the

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3. On the African Youth League and 'Africanism' of the 1940s see G.M. Gerhart, **Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology** (Berkeley, 1978), 45-84; and Lodge, **Black Politics**.

4. For a short account of the wartime split of the Fusion Government see e.g. Paton, **Hofmeyr**, 254-260.

5. See e.g. Jan Hofmeyr's reference to this speech in an address on 24 November 1942 in his capacity as acting prime minister. **Rand Daily Mail**, 25 November 1942.

6. Lipton, **Capitalism and Apartheid**, 220.

offices of the Springbok Legion - a left-wing ex-servicemens' organization - were raided.[7] Nevertheless, the coming to power of the National Party government represented more than just a change of tone in the state's 'native policy'. The new regime ended the tentative shift of the post-war UP government away from a reliance on migrant labour and refused to give any consideration to the possibility of African land settlement outside the reserves.[8] Under Verwoerd and Eiselen the Native Affairs Department was expanded in the 1950s and became an extensive empire with a more interventionist agenda. Broadly speaking, an early priority of the National Party was to tighten controls over Africans and other blacks in towns. The Group Areas Act signalled the intent of the state to move towards complete segregation in urban residential trading areas. Over time this line of policy led to a thoroughgoing transformation of urban land distribution, with blacks forced to move to new 'group areas' further away from the city centre. In the short term at least this process of spatial disruption adversely affected efforts at the political mobilization of urban blacks.[9] In addition, limited trading rights gained by Africans in the townships during the 1940s, were lost in the 1950s.[10]

The 1940s started more propitiously than they ended for liberalism. The advent of the war quickened the pulse and extended the circulation of liberalism as it provided opportunities (both real and imagined) for progressively-minded people to play an increased role in the affairs of state. Liberal economists such as C.S. Richards and W.H. Hutt became virtually full-time consultants to the government as it tried, with reasonable success, to boost production and to achieve a semi-command economy. The Army Educational Serv-

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7. Marquard Papers, C 71.2, Marquard to Jan Hofmeyr, 25 September 1946.

8. Cross and Haines, 'Historical Overview of Land Policy', 84.

9. Ibid.

10. Davenport and Hunt, **The Right to the Land**, 62.

ice provided the opportunity for a number of progressive intellectuals to attempt to reach the kinds of people who had been mostly inaccessible to them.[11] This Service was headed by educationist E.G. Malherbe with Leo Marquard the second-in-command. Hoernle was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the home-front establishment of the organization.[12] Rheinallt Jones was also involved, though less actively. With the armed forces bringing together white Afrikaans- and English-speaking people from differing backgrounds, there was hope that this would lead to the development of a more enlightened and inclusive nationalism among whites. For most liberals this task still took precedence over the more difficult task of welding a common national identity between Africans and whites.[13]

Although a number of whites within the joint councils and the SAIRR were concerned about ebbing African support and the more activist line taken by the African petty bourgeoisie in general, the war allowed a certain complacency and idealism in liberal thinking. A greater emphasis on the creation of a model welfarist state during the late 1930s and early 1940s, was reinforced by the possibility of post-war reconstruction. A reformist state would in a sense have reduced the need for joint councils. Also with liberal intellectuals envisaging an expanded role for themselves in the making of state policy, maintaining a close relationship with the African political elite may have seemed less of a priority. A few liberals were less sanguine about the prospects of reform and adopted overt socialist positions. The evidence is thin but it would seem that socialism offered more legitimation for social planning and intervention than did conventional liberalism and thus held out

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11. See e.g. **Army Education Handbook** (Pretoria, 1943), 121: 'The only chance of creating a fairly substantial internal market of 10 million consumers is frustrated by condemning natives and coloureds, and with them poor whites, to poverty by denying them the opportunity to become proficient workers'.

12. Interview with E.G. Malherbe, Salt Rock, 6 June 1980.

13. See e.g. a speech by G.Clayton, Bishop of Johannesburg reported in **The Star**, 19 May 1942.

more hope for progressive white intellectuals wishing to have a role in any restructuring of South African society. In a sense, they would be able to speak to the African masses over the heads of the African political elite. The following remarks on the 'Bantu bourgeoisie' by Leo Marquard, the pseudonymous author of **The Black Man's Burden**, are suggestive in this regard:

> These educated and semi-educated Africans are still very much concerned with their own social position, and have no idea of raising the mass of the workers to fight for improvement in their condition; their economic position, as they see it, is associated with the European rather than with the depressed Bantu worker.... On the whole they are an unhappy class of people, bitterly resenting the indignities that they have to suffer in company with uneducated natives; they have achieved a standard of living high enough to make them at once dissatisfied with life and fearful of losing what they have achieved. The members of this class often suffer from inferiority complexes, and lack the dignity of the natives in the reserves; their club activities are hampered by petty jealousies and squabbling for position, and tend to break up into rival organisations. The bourgeois Bantu are sensitive to criticism, and many of them resent Europeans who, with the best intentions, try to assist them ... [14]

It was only during 1946-1947 that warning bells were rung in earnest.[15] Nevertheless, the dominant response to this situation was to hope for macro reform through the state, rather than to re-establish links with the African political elite on the ground. At the end of the war there appeared to be a noticeably wider receptivity among whites to liberal ideas and plans than in the 1930s. Reviewing developments in 1951, Oscar Wolheim found evidence of a broader liberal constituency in the success of the Institute of Citizenship,[16] and the formation of the Hofmeyr Society (a liberal pressure group within the United Party), the Oppenheimer Trust and 'various other bodies'. Even the

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14. J. Burger, **The Black Man's Burden'** (London, 1943), 96. This book was first published in 1939.

15. E. Hellman, 'Debit Balance in Race Relations', **South African Jewish Frontier**, September 1947, 3. See also E. Hellman, 'A Liberal Looks at South Africa's Native Bills', **Jewish Affairs**, April 1946, 9.

16. The Institute for Citizenship was formed in Cape Town during 1945-1946, with Leo Marquard at its head. The Institute grew out of the wartime Army Education Service of which Marquard had been second-in-command. Whites were the main target group. A key concern was to maintain the constituency liberalism had secured among the armed forces, and to develop a more urbane and democratic political culture. This in turn would give white liberals more influence over the state. Haines, 'Liberalism and the Making of National Culture'.

Franchise Action Committee, a body aimed at re-instating Africans on the Cape Common roll and defending existing African political rights, was 'very widely supported financially'.[17]

There was also renewed pressure for the strengthening of progressive forces within parliament. Hofmeyr remained the focus of liberal hopes in the political arena until his death in 1948. His reluctance to leave the UP seems to have led supporters of an independent liberal party to mark time during 1946-1948. During the early 1950s liberal groups were also formed in the Cape and Natal.[18] At a meeting in Cape Town in early 1951, representatives from these groups met and formed the Liberal Association,[19] which became the Liberal Party after the National Party was returned to power in April 1953.[20] Irvine maintains that the party's primary concern was 'the protection and extension of civil and political rights' - in other words the emphasis was on 'procedural rather than substantive rights'.[21] By and large the Liberal Party sharpened rather than reworked existing liberal theory. In drawing on ideas of a civilized citizenry (manifested in the prescription of a qualified franchise until 1959) and the ability of capitalist economic development to erode racial segregation, it was part of a broader liberal discourse which involved in varying degrees the SAIRR and joint councils, the progressive wing of the United Party, reformist-minded capitalists and sections of the African petty bourgeoisie. However, the joint councils during the 1940s and after played a markedly less important role in the production of liberal

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17. Oscar D. Wolheim Papers, Jagger Library, UCT, D2.8, O.D. Wolheim to Lewin, 8 April 1951.

18. D. Irvine, 'The Liberal Party, 1953-1968' in Butler, Elphick and Welsh, **Democratic Liberalism**, 117. Irvine dates these groups as emerging in 1952, but the Cape group had been in existence since 1951. See e.g. Wolheim Papers, D2.3, Wolheim to Lewin, 17 March 1951.

19. Irvine, 'Liberal Party', 117.

20. For details about the inception of the Liberal Party see Robertson, **Liberalism in South Africa**.

21. Irvine, 'The Liberal Party', 117.

social thought than previously.

It was not without significance that in 1951, when Wolheim was finding encouragement in signs of the growth of liberalism among whites, the Johannesburg Joint Council was in the process of closing shop. Its demise was formally confirmed in 1955 when its funds were symbolically transferred to the SAIRR. No official figures on the number of active joint councils were provided for most of the 1940s. In 1949 W.B. Ngakane estimated that there were 'slightly more than forty councils operating in various parts of the country'.[22] This estimate appears to have included Indo-European and Coloured-European councils. The Institute provided more specific figures in 1951, indicating that there were still 28 joint councils in existence.[23] By 1953 the numbers had dwindled to 15 active joint councils of whites and Africans, one Coloured-European council (East London) and one Indo-European council (Pietermaritzburg). Two of the Southern African councils remained - at Bremersdorp and Mbabane.[24]

Writing in late 1947, Ellen Hellman - who had been the JJC Secretary between 1941 and 1944 - expressed her concern at the future of the joint councils:

> ...Most of the Councils are not increasing in membership. The European membership has remained at a fairly consistent numerical level, composed of a permanent nucleus made up chiefly of diehards - missionaries, social welfare workers and ... so-called negrophilists - and a fluctuating membership of Europeans who come, impelled by their goodwill, for a short while, but lack the persistence to stay. African membership has, on the other hand, diminished in most centres, notably in Johannesburg. Not only has rank-and-file membership decreased, but the

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22. SAIRR, **Survey of Race Relations, 1948-1949** (Johannesburg, 1949), 67.

23. **Ibid.**, 1950-1951, 95. This figure included two Coloured-European councils (Durban and East London) and one Indo-European body (Durban). Outside the Union there were four joint councils: Bremersdorp and Mbabane (Swaziland), Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia) and Francistown (Bechuanaland).

24. **Ibid.**, 1952-1953, 11. There is some question about the reliability of these Institute figures. The Pietermaritzburg Council was not included in the 1950-1951 figures but according to the **Survey of Race Relations, 1953-1954**, 13, the Council had been operation for 27 years.

participation of African Executive members is intermittent and flagging.[25]

As she saw it, the basic cause of the declining enthusiasm among whites for joint council work was

> ... [the] same for Europeans and Africans. And this cause is, put bluntly, lack of results ... One of the factors that formerly cemented bonds of co-operation between Africans and progressive Europeans was the African's belief in the fundamental good faith of the European. The inevitable outcome of decades of frustration and bitter disappointment has been that this belief has been so shattered that it now barely exists at all. Coupled with this there has been sharply growing political awareness developing among the African people, particularly in the towns. Consequently, they are turning more and more to their own political organizations...[26]

The adverse effect of African politicization became a central theme in assessments within joint council and Institute nexus regarding the prospects of liberalism in general and the joint councils in particular. However, seeing the declining fortunes of the joint councils in terms of a process of African disillusionment with the failure of white liberalism, is a touch too convenient an argument. Africans had been aware of the frailties of this liberalism for some time. Disengagement from the joint councils was also prompted by a search among the political elite for new strategies and tactics. In addition the nature of the political leadership was itself changing with the influx of younger and more activist elements into the ANC and other socio-political movements. Not surprisingly there was a questioning of the more informal and personal alliances which had hitherto been preferred by many of the ANC establishment, in favour of more mass-based politics.[27] One needs to also consider the possibility that 'educated Africans' (the 'Ama Respectables') were subjected to growing scrutiny from the popular classes. There is evidence to suggest that in some of the larger urban centres at least, the petty

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25. E. Hellman, 'The Role of Joint Councils in the Effort to Improve Race Relations', The Judean, December 1947.

26. Ibid.

27. Cobley, 'On the Shoulders of Giants'.

bourgeoisie were obliged to be more circumspect than before in regard to to activities which could be construed as being too elitist.[28]

The surge in the politicization of Africans in the 1940s and after, reflected the growth of a more self-confident and diverse population.[29] African urban society was providing more in the way of psychological resources and useful social skills in the 1940s and 1950s than it did previously; there was therefore less need for the machinery of the joint councils. While the petty bourgeoisie remained a small part of African urban communities, they had more university-trained intellectuals, including lawyers, in their ranks - a fact that made them less dependent on the advice of whites on legislative and related matters. Also, the establishment of organized populist political movements was probably more demanding of the time of the emerging leadership.

The lines of communication between whites and Africans were also physically attenuated through blackouts in the larger coastal centres during the Second World War[30] and by the Union-wide process of situating the newer townships, and extensions of existing ones, further away from the inner core of cities and towns. Getting to and from meetings became even more of a problem for some African members in the larger centres.[31] In addition, with the growing size of the urban African communities, it seems to have been more difficult for council members to find local issues which could bind them sufficiently in a common pursuit.

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28. Activist S.S. Mtolo's recollections about populist pressures in Durban in the later 1940s is revealing in this regard: '... it was a time when normal people ruled the roost.... Africans .. who were already exemplified would ignore their brothers at their peril. Now they had to watch it. Even us in the Youth League had to be very careful.' Cited by I. Edwards,'Swing the Assegai Peacefully? New Africa, Mkhumbane, the Co-operative Movement and Attempts to Transform Durban Society in the Late Nineteen-Forties' in Bonner, **Holding Their Ground**, 74.

29. This was a point stressed by Hellman in a radio talk. E. Hellmann Papers, Department of Historical Papers, Wits, Transcript of no. 3 of a four-part series of talks for the South African Broadcasting Corporation on 'Race Relations', July 1955.

30. Z. Friedlander Papers, Jagger Library, UCT, CJC Minute Book, CJC Annual General Meeting, 3 August 1943.

31. See e.g. the comments of African members in Hellman Papers, JJC minutes, 18 September 1950.

It should also be borne in mind that a number of leading white members of the joint councils had become parliamentary representatives of Africans during the interwar period.[32] With several of the senior African joint councillors becoming members of the NRC, the advent of the new state structures proved somewhat disruptive for the joint councils. NRC members and white African representatives had relatively little time to give the joint councils. This, together with the fact that a number of members left for active service after 1939, meant that the councils were deprived of much-needed expertise.

The advent of the National Party regime undoubtedly accelerated the decline of the joint councils. Indeed, Ian Allan, Secretary of the DJC in the late 1940s and early 1950s lays the main blame for the decline of that council at the door of the National Party and its apartheid policies.[33] Similarly, J.L. Dlepu, one of the more prominent African members of the Grahamstown Joint Council (GJC) in the 1950s, maintains that 'it was the government's policy that made the joint council to fail'.[34] More specifically, from the early-1950s onwards the joint councils were affected by the implementation of the Group Areas Act, the beginnings of police surveillance of multi-racial gatherings, as well as the creation of a climate where white-African contact assumed a more clandestine air.[35] Further, with the annexation of private schools to ensure the promotion of Bantu Education, African teachers fell more directly under the control of the state and many felt obliged to maintain a low profile. For example, a Port Elizabeth high school principal begged off giving a talk to the GJC on the grounds that he would find it difficult to

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32. See chapter 8.

33. Telephonic interview with I. Allan, Howick, 12 July 1990.

34. Interview with J.L. Dlepu, Grahamstown, November 1983. Dlepu was a teacher and the president of the Grahamstown Rugby Board. The stadium that the GJC helped establish was named after him.

35. The PJC found that a number of the white members left the Council because of social pressure. JCR, Cp9.6.23, Dissolution of the PJC, 1963.

avoid being critical 'and perhaps expressing what "the powers that be" might consider explosive political ideas'.[36] Quintin Whyte also indicated that many African government officials feared that their advancement would be hampered if they were members of a joint council.[37] And generally the state was less accessible and sympathetic to approaches from the joint councils.[38] Finally, as we observed in the previous chapter, the state through its interventions in the reserves and in spheres such as education further eroded what little possibilities existed for alliances of interest between the African petty bourgeiosie and white liberal groupings.

One should take into consideration the organizational dimension of the decline of the joint councils, in particular the relationship between the councils and the SAIRR. With Saffery pre-occupied with other ventures in the late 1930s, the affairs of the Consultative Committee of Joint Councils were neglected. In 1940 Edith Rheinallt Jones assumed the Consultative Committee Secretaryship. She attempted to restore some order to the loosely-structured central organization of the joint councils, but partly because of other commitments was able to do no more than arrest the organizational decay of the joint council movement. After her death in 1944, the joint councils experienced even less in the way of national guidance than previously. For the next few years the Institute gave little attention to the development of the councils. Inadequate funds and staff and increasing work, were among the reasons cited in Institute annual reports for this neglect.[39] The SAIRR acknowledged, however, that it had a particular responsibility for the devel-

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36. GJCR, MS 16556, L. K. Ntlabati to Secretary of the Grahamstown Joint Council, 10 October 1960.

37. JCR, Cz2.1, Whyte to J. de Meestral, 12 October 1955.

38. E.g. Hellman Papers, JJC minutes, 18 September 1950: 'Dr Roux said that the change in regime in South Africa made it difficult to approach the authorities.'

39. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report**, 1944 and 1945; See also the 18th and 19th Annual Reports in SAIRR, **Survey of Race Relations**, 1946-1947 and 1947-1948.

opment of the joint councils.[40]

The councils too were troubled by limited funds, indeed, most lived a hand-to-mouth existance. Some joint councils were able to get donations from capital corporations,[41] but this was more the exception than the rule and most councils depended largely on the contributions of members to fund their various activities. However, subscriptions were frequently not paid, limiting the kinds and numbers of projects these bodies could undertake - a situation which had a negative effect on membership.

Rheinallt Jones in the aftermath of the passage of the Hertzog Bills thought it likely that the joint councils would become more political. However, with the Institute providing **de facto** control of the joint councils, the shift was in the opposite direction. After 1936 the joint councils were to undertake no further nation-wide campaigns against state policy and the notion that the councils should concern themselves essentially with local and non-political matters, gained ground. Few joint council deputations to the government were without an Institute presence. Indeed, the SAIRR often took the initiative in setting up such deputations and structuring the agenda. The deputations were invariably polite with little of the acrimony that the joint councils had caused in government circles in the 1920s and early 1930s. This was part of a broader process whereby the Institute in effect assumed certain of the joint council functions.

Three regional conferences were convened by the SAIRR in 1940 - at Johannesburg on 16 March, Queenstown from 24-25 May and Port Elizabeth on 31 May

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40. See e.g. SAIRR, **Survey of Race Relations 1946-1947**, 33; 'The Institute recognizes its responsibility for helping the joint council movement throughout the country'.

41. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1950-1951, Annexure A: Income and Expenditure, 1 April 1950 - 31 March 1951; Cd3.2, DJC Annual Report of Executive Committee, 1945, 10; Cd3.3, DJC Minutes, 5 May 1947.

and 1 June.[42] The Johannesburg conference set up a short-lived co-ordinating committee for the southern Transvaal joint councils.[43] The other conferences did no more than raise the possibility of formal co-ordination of joint councils on a regional basis.[44] A national conference specifically for joint councils was held in 1950,[45] the first such meeting since 1933. Although helpful in certain respects, it was poorly attended and not successful in terms of its primary aim - that of bringing the joint councils closer together.[46] The 1950 national conference was part of the efforts undertaken by the Institute during the late 1940s to arrest the decline of the joint councils. In 1949, with Institute funding, a joint council newsletter **The Courier** was initiated, but this lasted for no more than a year.

Instead of attempting to strengthen the organizational capacity of the joint councils - building on existing infrastructure - the Institute tended to promote parallel ventures which in the long run seem to have contributed to a larger but more diffuse network of liberal and philanthropic agencies. One such project was the race relations study circles which were started by Clare Rheinallt Jones - Rheinallt Jones's second wife - in 1947. These took up certain functions the joint councils had originally marked out as their terrain in the 1920s. The stated rationale for these bodies was that 'the majority of Europeans in South Africa were very ignorant as to the real facts behind our racial problems, and either through lack of interest or knowledge had not made use of the facilities offered by the Institute and other bodies to acquaint

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42. JCR, Bc2; Bb2.1; and Bb2.2.

43. **Ibid.**, Bc3.2, Conference Minutes, 26 April 1940.

44. **Ibid.**, Bc4, Conference of Joint Councils in Transvaal.

45. **Ibid.**, Ac9, National Conference of Joint Councils, Johannesburg, 1950.

46. This was openly admitted by the SAIRR in its **Survey of Race Relations, 1949-1950**, 103.

themselves with the facts before expressing opinions'.[47] Study circles were set up first on the Rand and by 1948 there were 14 operative in that area, including several in the Johannesburg suburbs. With the exception of the Germiston circle the membership was confined to whites. During 1948-1949 similar study circles were formed by Africans at Evaton, Roodepoort, Orlando, Western Native Township (Johannesburg) and Kimberley.[48] Further white study circles were formed in Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Cape Town and Rustenburg during the late 1940s and early 1950s. The study circles appear to have been directed towards women who were playing an increasing role in welfare activities among Africans. The National Council for Women was the main player in the circles at Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Rustenburg.[49] After starting out as discussion groups, some of the circles began taking up practical work.[50]

If anything, the situation was exacerbated by internal developments within the SAIRR in the 1940s. Quintin Whyte, who succeeded Rheinallt Jones as director of the SAIRR in 1947, had no direct experience of joint councils. Also, the Institute's constituency had become larger and more formal.[51] The SAIRR hierarchy saw the expansion of its activities as the most appropriate response to its constituency - especially its donors. Rather than developing a higher profile as a pressure group, they went for growth in relatively uncontroversial areas and tended to depict the Institute more in terms of a research foundation marketing expertise in race relations.[52] This picture was

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47. **Ibid.**, 1947-1948, 60.

48. **Ibid.**, 1948-1949, 62-63.

49. Jessie Herstlet, Convenor of the National Council for Women in Cape Town, started a study circle in that city. See **Ibid.**, 1947-1948, 62 and 1952-1953, 12.

50. **Ibid.**, 1947-1948, 61.

51. Interview with Julius Lewin, London, 12 November 1979; interview with Oscar Wolheim, 23 March 1982. See also e.g. Lewin's remarks about the reactionary nature of the Institute chairman at the time in D. Molteno Papers, C5.2, Lewin to Molteno, 8 January 1946.

52. Hellman Papers, untitled memorandum by E. Hellman for the Ford Foundation, c.1952, 3-6.

reinforced by an increased interest in Great Britain and certain of her African colonial territories in the work of the Institute in the broad and seemingly new discourse of race relations.[53]

Apart from organizational factors, one must also take cognizance of shifts in white social reformism. While white participation in the joint councils tapered off less obviously than that of Africans, it nevertheless contributed to the overall decline. Although the number of active white liberals and humanitarians appears to have risen in the post-war years, there were more counter-attractions to the joint councils than previously. One significant development was the growth of specialist welfare organisations. As the SAIRR Field Officer reported in 1951,

> In the larger centres where there has been a growing awareness of the need for welfare services, many organizations have sprung up, very often doing the same work. The result has been to narrow the scope of the joint councils concerned. In some cases very little has been left for the councils to do, with the result that they are feeling uncertain about the future.[54]

In the 1940s and 1950s the outlook of the joint councils became more regional and local in scope, which helps explain the unevenness of the Union-wide decline of the joint councils. In 1950 Ngakane reported sadly that 'those Councils which have engaged in some practical activity - usually of a philanthropic nature - appear to be less subject to disintegrating influences.'[55] While this gives us some clue to the processes at work, it does not capture sufficiently the dynamics at the local level. In general the decline was more pronounced in the larger urban centres than in the smaller rural towns and countryside. In part this reflected the fact that the African political movements were strongest in and around the major cities and that the

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53. Haines, 'Liberalism, Race and Empire'.

54. SAIRR, Survey of Race Relations, 1950-1951, 95.

55. Ibid., 1949-1950, 102.

joint councils had lost much of their mediatory capacity. Ngakane's diagnosis came at a time when apartheid practices were beginning to circumscribe the day-to-day operations of the joint councils and when pure welfarism was a safer option for whites - especially those in smaller communities - than inter-racial social reformism, however tame. Nevertheless, the few joint councils that survived the 1950s were for the most part more than mere philanthropic agencies; to an extent they were able to engage with certain local struggles by Africans by providing useful resources.

Regional dynamics should be taken into account, particularly with regard to the smaller councils. By and large there was more joint council activity in the smaller centres of the Transvaal than any other province. The fortunes of a number of these smaller councils were bound up with the electoral calculations and other projects of Rheinallt Jones and his wife Edith during the late 1930s and early 1940s. While the couple were not to achieve much success in re-invigorating joint councils in the OFS, they were able to build up some kind of tacit relationship of interest with sections of the African petty bourgeoisie in the northern and eastern Transvaal. In the early 1940s new councils were formed at Lydenburg and Middelburg in the eastern Transvaal, forming a crescent from Zoutpansberg in the north to Springs in the south. 'My husband', wrote Edith to the chairman of the Zoutpansberg Council in mid-1940, 'does appreciate the opportunity of meeting Joint Councils where he can and this time he does very specially want to talk about the possibility of extending the movement in the North.'[56] Also, in the western Transvaal a joint council was formed at Zeerust and one re-established at Rustenburg.[57] Not all of these were a direct outcome of the politiking of the Rheinallt Joneses. The formation of the shortlived Evaton Joint Council in the Southern Transvaal was

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56. JCR, Cz2.1, E. Rheinallt Jones to S. Phillips, 18 July 1940.

57. Further information on these councils can be found in the JCR.

essentially the result of African initiatives and the Rustenburg Council was to a considerable extent the work of an ex-JJC member, Sol Sidzumo.[58] The work of the Rheinallt Joneses among the smaller Transvaal joint councils was not translated into improved regional let alone national co-ordination. There was rather a tendency to treat these councils as part of a personal set of networks validated by Rheinallt Jones's senatorship and his senior role within the SAIRR.

Pressures for the co-ordination of Transvaal joint councils came from the Benoni Joint Council which in July 1939 requested JJC assistance in forming 'a federated Council which would then have more power and prestige in urging reforms on the responsible authorities than a single local Council would have'.[59] A strong federation of councils, said one of the Benoni delegates, might help revive councils in other centres on the Reef and would be listened to with respect by municipal authorities.[60] Vieyra, the JJC chairman, was unenthusiastic, maintaining that a federal body would not be justified in interfering in purely municipal matters. Nevertheless, at the conference of Transvaal joint councils in March 1940 Benoni's proposal was considered.[61] The possibility of the joint councils taking a more direct political line - on a more national scale - was a contentious issue. Rheinallt Jones suggested that the joint councils confine themselves to matters of local interest, and stressed that the volume of local work had 'grown enormously'. Political issues should be set aside for African political leadership. A number of the delegates from the smaller councils were unhappy with this reasoning, and considered it impossible to divide political from non-political activity.

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58. JCR, Cr3.1, S.L. Sidzumo to Edith Rheinallt Jones, 23 April and 28 May 1941; Edith Rheinallt Jones to Sidzumo, 26 May 1941.

59. JCR, Cj2.4, JJC Minutes, 10 July 1939.

60. Ibid.

61. JCR, Bc2.6, Minutes of the Conference of Transvaal Joint Councils, 16 March 1940.

Father Clark of the Springs Joint Council, and previously an active member of the Pothchefstroom Council, argued that small joint councils would be adversely affected if the JJC abandoned its work 'on problems of National importance'; small joint councils often had no members qualified to discuss the legal aspect of such problems.[62] W. Ngakane and E. Motau, members of the Executive Committees of the Johannesburg and Pretoria Joint Councils respectively, came out strongly in favour of the joint councils taking a more active political stance. Eventually a vague formula was decided on to the effect that 'it would be undesirable to shackle Joint Councils by too closely circumscribing their possible range of activities'.[63] A continuation committee was set up which in turn formed a Southern Transvaal Regional Committee of Joint Councils, covering the area of Pretoria, the Reef and Vereeniging.[64] However, for unspecified reasons[65] the operations of the Regional Committee were suspended and were never resumed.

During the 1940s the JJC's role in leading joint councils on national political issues declined further. The Council remained a vigorous body with a wide range of interests, but after the war its membership declined progressively,[66] its concerns narrowed somewhat and its activities took on a more welfarist hue[67] - despite the membership of such progressive whites as Eddie Roux and Trevor Huddlestone. Of the larger centres the JJC was among the most affected by the increasing politicization of Africans. A number of the younger African political intelligentsia moved to the Rand in the late 1930s and early

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62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. JCR, Bc3, Conference Minutes, 26 April 1940; Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1940.

65. See JCR, Bc4.2, Circular postponing the Conference; Cj2.3, JJC Annual Report, 1940.

66. JCR, Cj2.3, JJC Annual Reports, 1940 -1950.

67. This is particularly evident in the JJC's Annual Report of 1949-1950.

1940s,[68] and Johannesburg became the locus of more assertive forms of African nationalist thought. While the decline of the JJC in the 1940s would appear to present a classic case of African disillusionment with white liberal ventures, this is to simplify matters. Xuma served as chairman in 1940 and retained links with the Council in the later 1940s.[69] Also, Oliver Tambo was a member of the Executive from 1943 to 1949.[70]

Apart from the Transvaal, the eastern Cape was the only region where the smaller joint councils were able to maintain a reasonable presence - at least until the late 1940s. The series of conferences held in 1940 may have helped in the short term. The conferences were in part the work of Oscar Wolheim, an East London headmaster[71] and the regional SAIRR representative, who provided some much needed administrative assistance to eastern Cape councils, especially in the first half of the 1940s. There were, however, distinct limits to the time and resources he could devote to this task.[72]

Of all the eastern Cape joint councils, it was the East London body which gave the most systematic thought to the problems of maintaining and extending an African constituency. However, like Macmillan a decade earlier, Wolheim found the conservative philanthropism of the white joint council establishment a decided hindrance to efforts to attract a vigorous African membership. For instance, in 1943 he urged the Council to take up a series of

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68. These included A.P. Mda, Congress Mbata, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, all of whom constituted an influential group of Young Turks within the ANC in the 1940s.

69. For instance, he gave the keynote at its silver jubilee celebrations in 1946.

70. See JCR, Cj2.4.3, Executive Minutes for this period.

71. Wolheim had taken up the headship of one of the local African high schools in late 1938. Interview with Oscar Wolheim, Cape Town, 23 March 1983.

72. His influence was felt particularly by the East London Joint Council. During 1939 he met and formed working relationships with a few community leaders, in particular Richard Godlo, who had become a member of the Natives' Representative Council. Together they attempted to revitalize the local joint council which had become noticeably sluggish in the early war years.

complaints about the poor treatment of probationer African nurses and the lack of employment opportunities for trained African nurses and clerks. Wolheim spent some time checking the complaints, but a special council meeting on the issue was stage-managed by the old guard of B.A. Steer and Senator Walsh. Both were members of the hospital's board and persuaded the council meeting to drop the matter.[73] Wolheim's remarks on this meeting are worth quoting:

> For some time I have wondered why responsible Africans did not attend the Council meetings. I have been making enquiries and they all tell me that it is no use going to meetings as everything has previously been cut and dried and that there is no open forum for them to express their grievances ... The meetings have during the past two years been very poorly attended and all the younger and more active members have dropped away.[74]

Rheinallt Jones advised Wolheim 'not to take any hasty action', and apologized to Walsh (without informing Wolheim of his action) for Wolheim's impulsiveness.[75] Hoernle, though agreeing that the matter should be handled diplomatically, and in a way 'which [would] not harm the Institute', felt that 'if Wolheim's account is correct, Steer and Walsh acted most improperly.'[76] Wolheim continued with the East London Joint Council, remaining as secretary until his departure from that town in 1948.

During 1943-1944 the East London Joint Council took a more assertive line, especially in its relationship with officialdom. In 1944 the local Chief Magistrate of East London was urged by Wolheim to review the actions of a particularly unpopular magistrate - a move which horrified Rheinallt Jones. In the same year Godlo, with Wolheim's support, was appointed chairman of the

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73. Rheinallt Jones Papers, C30/39, Wolheim to Rheinallt Jones, 25 May 1943.

74. Ibid.

75. He stressed that Wolheim could be 'in due course ... a very valuable and effective worker in Native matters' and that he would be grateful if Walsh would help 'to make the best use of him'. Rheinallt Jones Papers, C30/41, Rheinallt Jones to Senator Walsh, 16 June 1943.

76. Ibid., C30/42, undated note from Hoernle to Rheinallt Jones, presumably mid-June 1943.

Council - an event which apparently 'raised eyebrows at the time'.[77] However, as it was reported in 1946 the Joint Council was

> ... active in many fields chief among which may be stated the establishment of a Library in the Location with funds from the 'Carnegie' Trust; assistance in the foundation of the Gompo Institute (hostel and place of safety); rehousing and cleaning up the location; establishment of a bus service to the location; establishment of the Welsh High School; problems of the brewing of Kaffir Beer; the establishment of a Post Office; evidence before Government Commissions, notably the Smit Commission, and the Kaffir Beer Commissions; the establishment of a Legal Aid Bureau; Freehold sites for Africans in the location, as well as a large number of other similar and more detailed matters calculated to create better relationships between Europeans and Non-Europeans.[78]

However, the attendance of Africans remained disappointing.[79] In a policy statement issued in 1947 the Council attributed this poor attendance to the continued suppression of a growing African elite. Hundreds of graduates, thousands of matriculants and tens of thousands of teachers, nurses and others with at least a Junior Certificate were being administered by an utterly outdated and absurd 'native policy'.[80] The East London Joint Council survived until the early 1950s when mass protest rocked the city.[81]

Unlike East London, the Port Elizabeth Joint Council failed to see out the decade. It was reasonably active in the earlier 1940s given that its meetings were influenced by the wartime blackout, but by 1946 it was moribund, having lost support from both whites and Africans. An unsuccessful attempt was made to resurrect it that year.[82] The collapse of the Council seems to have been tied up in part with the radicalization of local politics in New Brigh-

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77. Interview with Oscar Wolheim, Cape Town, 23 March 1983.

78. JCR, Ce1.1, O. Wolheim to Miss Perlstein, 1 August 1946.

79. 'Its ordinary membership should be 30 European and 30 African but attendance since 1939 has seldom been more than 25 at a meeting.' JCR, Ce1.1, Wolheim to Ms Perlman, 1 August 1946.

80. JCR, Ce1, East London Joint Council, **Relations Between Black and White: Statement of Policy**, pamphlet.[4pp] 1947, 1.

81. See Lodge, **Black Politics**, 57.

82. JCR, Cp 5.1, E.M. Holland to W. Ngakane, 25 April 1950; SAIRR, Annual Report for 1946 in **Survey of Race Relations, 1946-1947**.

ton, the township that housed the majority of Port Elizabeth's African population. The suspension of A.F. Pendla as president of the Cape African Congress by Xuma in September 1942 opened the way for the revitalization of the ANC at a local and regional level as trade unionists supplanted traders and middle-class professionals.[83] Activists, mostly with trade union links, also mounted a challenge in the mid-1940s to the establishment figures on the township's Advisory Board. Those coming under particular fire were the nominated members of the Board, a number of which were long-standing members of the Joint Council.[84] Presumably, the waning of their local influence had an adverse effect on the ability of the Joint Council to maintain a constituency in the township. In addition, a growing militancy among Africans during the mid-1940s and after[85] may have made whites more wary about having meetings and conducting welfare work in the township, thus contributing to the erosion of white support.

The GJC appears to have entered a more active phase after the 1930s. In Andrew Moyake, a local school principal, the GJC had a long-serving secretary and executive committee member with reasonable credibility among Grahamstown's African petty bourgeoisie.[86] The sustained and growing involvement of the academic staff of Rhodes University also helped give a sense of continuity. Significant too, was that Grahamstown had a relatively dense network of white philanthropic agencies with overlapping membership. After the war women seem to have increased their involvement in voluntary welfare work amongst Africans

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83. G. Baines, 'The New Brighton Advisory Board c.1923-1952: Its Legitimacy and Legacy' (History workshop paper, Wits, 1990), 21.

84. Notably Nikiwe, Pendla, Revs. Limba and G.R. Molefe. Ibid., 17-22.

85. Ibid.; Lodge, Black Politics, 48-52.

86. Interview with J.P. Dlepu, Grahamstown, November 1983.

and played a more active role in the Council's affairs.[87]

The fact that the bulk of the African members were property-holders of Fingo Village - an historic freehold area abutting white Grahamstown - also helps explain the relative resilience of the Council. A recurrent concern of the GJC was a defence of the economic and social position of this property-owning class. The Council protested against white encroachment on the Village and acted to reduce rate increases. Further, during the 1950s and 1960s - both as an individual body[88] and in concert with other pressure groups - the GJC campaigned against the state's efforts to zone the area on racial and ethnic lines and change its tenurial status.[89] There is also an organizational and financial side to the longevity of the Council. From the later 1940s they received several grants from Rhodes students.[90] The inception of the Rhodes Rag Fund in the early 1950s provided a regular source of funds for the Council and dwindling contributions from this Fund possibly hastened the decline of the GJC in the mid-1960s.

There appear to have been few if any activists among the African members, although the GJC did have links with the ANC establishment in the region in the 1940s.[91] In the 1950s there were reports of struggles between the 'responsible local leaders' and ANC activists over strategy regarding the imposition of Bantu education, but there is no real evidence that these tensions impacted on the council. It was the proscription of the 'social'

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87. Interview with B.E. and E.K. McIntosh, Grahamstown, 7 July 1980.

88. For instance, the Joint Council was represented on the Eastern Cape Group Areas Action Committee during the late 1950s. **Grocotts Daily Mail**, 28 April 1959.

89. For an account of the state's assault on Fingo Village and the ensuing resistance see T.R.H. Davenport, **Black Grahamstown** (Johannesburg, 1980).

90. Interview with E.D. Mountain, Grahamstown, 6 July 1980; GJCR, E. Mountain to H. Watts, 28 June 1964.

91. E.g. Robert Bokwe, a member of Xuma's executive and a key figure in ANC circles in the eastern Cape, was the guest speaker at the 1949 Annual General Meeting of the Grahamstown Joint Council, **Grocotts Mail**, 5 May 1949.

space of the Joint Council by the state which most affected it and 'spoilt the atmosphere'.[92] As two ex-members recall, from the early 1950s onwards 'the blacks were too frightened to come', and in the long term the Council 'just petered out'.[93]

Technically there was something of an expansion in the southern and western Cape with a new Council being formed at the town of George in 1940.[94] This body lasted until the end of the decade. The CJC was a smaller body than in the 1930s, but nevertheless helped contribute to the more social democratic character of liberalism in the western Cape.[95] This was partly because of intersecting liberal and progressive circles. For instance, during the 1940s various Joint Council members, the bulk of whom were white, served on or were associated with Leo Marquard's Institute for Citizenship (set up in 1946), the Civil Liberties Association[96] and the Cape Central Committee on Race Contacts - the latter being a regional initiative aimed **inter alia** at improving co-ordination between inter-racial philanthropic agencies in the region.[97] There was also a close relationship with the Friends of Africa which was reflected in a substantial overlapping of membership of the two bodies.[98] Eddie Roux and Jack Simons, a lecturer in Native Administration at the University of Cape Town, were among the leading members of the CJC for most of the

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92. Interview with E.D. Mountain, Grahamstown, 6 July 1980.

93. Interview with B.E. and E.K. McIntosh, Grahamstown, 7 July 1980.

94. JCR, Cg1.1, D.D. Ngubeni to Rheinallt Jones, 22 September 1940.

95. Haines, 'Liberalism and the Making of National Culture'.

96. See Donald Molteno Papers, B17.112, The Civil Liberties Association: Statement of Principle regarding Internments.

97. SAIRR, **SAIRR Annual Report, 1939-1940**, 42.

98. D. Molteno, Advocate Buchanan, CJC Chairman W.G.A. Mears and Ms Stohr were active on the executives of both bodies. In addition, William Ballinger, the Director of the Friends of Africa, and Margaret Ballinger attended a number of CJC meetings.

perspective,[99] while Simons was becoming more involved in the affairs of the Party. There were no high profile figures among the African members. The long-serving secretary of the Benoni Joint Council, Zoey Friedlander, joined the Cape Town body and together with W.G. Mears, the chairman,[100] provided a significant administrative input. After a decline in numbers and interest in 1948, the Council closed in 1949.[101]

Langa remained a major focus of the Council's activities during the 1940s, but its interventions were of a low profile. It chose not to hold meetings in the township, as those 'attracted the wrong type of African, looking for a fight or political argument'.[102] This was partly because it was caught in a crossfire between wider political struggles in the region. Like other centres, Cape Town experienced rising worker militancy in the early and mid-1940s and a rivalry for African support between Communist Party and Trotsykite activists. The latter group - mainly coloured radicals - aimed at turning the AAC into a militant federal organization embracing blacks in general, not just Africans. Much of the pressure for such a move came from the western Cape-based Anti-CAD (Coloured Affairs Department) group. Closely associated with this group were a few African activists with I.B. Tabata being the most prominent. The AAC and the Anti-CAD merged to form the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) in 1943,[103] though the original organisations continued to have an independent existence for some time. Although the degree of influence

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99. See E. Roux **Rebel Pity: The Life of Eddie Roux** (Cape Town, 1970) for details of his career after he quit the Party.

100. Z. Friedlander Papers, Jagger Library, UCT, CJC Records, Minutes of meeting of CJC, 1 February 1949. See remarks by Buchanan.

101. **Ibid.**, Resume of Meetings of CJC held from April 1946.

102. **Ibid.**, CJC Records, Minutes of monthly meeting, 3 August 1945.

103. For a brief discussion of the fortunes of the Non-European Unity Movement/AAC grouping see e.g. Marks and Trapido, 'The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism', 45, 48.

of the NEUM-AAC activists amongst Africans in the Cape Peninsula is difficult to gauge, they seem to have raised the level of political perceptions in the townships. They struck at both the NRC and the 'native representatives', and queried the involvement of whites - whether liberals or communists -in black protest politics. Molteno, as the MP for the Cape Western Circle, came in for particular fire in the mid- and late-1940s. And liberals and the Communist Party were accused of making common cause 'to boost up Molteno and make him acceptable once more to African people as champion of their rights.'[104] Molteno in the early and mid-1940s appeared to have a working relationship with socialists and communists. For instance, in 1945 he accepted an invitation to join the editorial board of the **Guardian** - a left-wing publication.[105] Certainly the local CPSA leadership seemed untroubled by the existence of the CJC. But possibly the CJC was too small game, for the available evidence shows that it was the Institute which was seen by NEUM activists as symbolizing the tendency of liberal agencies to support the **status quo.**[106]

In Natal only three councils - Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Dundee - survived the post-1948 period. Evidence is sparse as to the reasons for this state of affairs. The fact that the DJC experienced an upturn during this period suggests that one should be wary of overstressing the impact of growing African militancy. The demise of councils in northern Natal may be connected to the fact that they were not all that active; the impression is gained that they became moribund because of a general lack of interest on the part of both Africans and whites. In the case of Vryheid, W.W. Ndhlovu appears to have been the one who attempted to keep it going.[107] Dundee was re-established in the

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104. Extract from editorial from the Trotskyite-inclined periodical **The Torch**, 1 September 1947.

105. D. Molteno Papers, C4.126, Molteno to E. Mofutsanyana, 8 August 1945.

106. See e.g. **The Torch**, 1 September 1947.

107. See JCR, Cv5.1, general correspondence.

early 1940s, and then again around 1950 and was relatively active until the mid-1950s.[108] Swedish missionaries who had a reputation for solid welfare work among Africans in the district, provided an important input into the Council.[109] Possibly the fact that there were sizable **kholwa** communities in the area[110] - some of them constituents of the Swedish Mission - may have worked to the benefit of the Dundee body.

In the Natal councils, as well as elsewhere, the personalities of individual office holders were important in determining the operations of the councils. This is illustrated obliquely by a complaint sent to the NAD about the newly-elected secretary of the Pietermaritzburg Native Welfare Society:

> She is quite unfit for such a position as she is very anti-British and distinctly pro-Nazi and is, therefore, a positive menace in such a post. She knows very little or nothing of the native. I have heard her pass the most insulting remarks about Royalty.[111]

The Pietermaritzburg Society was moribund by the late 1940s, but in 1953 was re-established as a joint council[112] and appears to have lasted until the late 1950s.[113] The fact that Pietermaritzburg experienced a growth of white liberalism in the 1950s and became one of the centres of Liberal Party activity, may help explain the re-emergence of the Council.

The Durban Joint Council which had virtually ceased to exist during the early war years,[114] renewed its activities after the lifting of the 'black-out'

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108. Note on the Dundee Joint Council by Miss Joan Evans, 1982, manuscript in author's possession. I am grateful to Sheila Henderson, the curator of the Dundee Museum, for providing me with this material.

109. Interview with M. Robertson, Johannesburg, 23 December 1981.

110. Interview with Sheila Henderson, 2 November 1981.

111. SAB, NTS 9262, 25/371, letter from a Mr. C.B., 4 December 1941.

112. SAIRR, **Survey of Race Relations, 1952-1953**, 12.

113. JCR, Cp1.1, general correspondence.

114. Morris Webb, in fact, described it as non-existent. JCR, Cd3.1, Webb to Edith Rheinallt Jones, 11 September 1941.

in the latter half of 1944.[115] This re-activation also meant a change of pace and emphasis as younger liberals challenged what they saw as the hegemony and overt paternalism of the 'old Natal people'. D.G. Shepstone who had played a dominant and, to some, an almost patriarchal role in the previous decade, lost a good deal of influence in the Council.[116]

The later forties were probably the most dynamic phase of the DJC - in contrast to the fortunes of councils in most other large centres. A number of factors contributed to this resurgence. For one, the organization had an energetic and well-connected chairman in Leo Caney, a prominent barrister (later a judge) and a politically ambitious man who had links with Smuts.[117] Also, there is evidence of a vigorous intellectual input into Council activities. Some members had served with the Army Education Services.[118] A number of Natal University academics were involved. Among these were Ian Allan, a lecturer in Accountancy; Kenneth Kirkwood, a lecturer in Native Law and Government who was subsequently appointed to the chair of Race Relations at Oxford; the economist H. R. Burrows and the anthropologists, Hansie Pollack and Eillen Krige. Local business interest in Council activities was becoming more important in the 1940s. A significantly increased number of donations were received from various firms.[119] Indeed, corporate contributions far outweighed individual subscriptions.

There was a fair amount of continuity with regard to African membership. Several of these members were directly involved in local and regional politics. They were for the most part establishment figures, although Jordan

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115. **Ibid.**, DJC Annual Report, 1945, Executive Committee Report, 2.

116. Telephonic interview with Ian Allan, Howick, 12 July 1990.

117. **Ibid.**.

118. These included Ernest Havemann and Ian Allen.

119. JCR, Cd3.2, DJC Annual Report, 1945, 3.

Ngubane, executive member of the Joint Council in 1945-1946, had links with the ANC Youth League. Rev. A.W. Mtimkulu was acting head of the Natal ANC during Dube's long final illness in the 1940s. Under both men the Natal Congress had attempted to maintain a degree of independence from the national ANC. On Dube's death in 1946 Mtimkulu lost his bid for the Natal presidency to Champion who had the political support of the national ANC. Mtimkulu's son Lionel, the assistant secretary of the DJC for most of the latter 1940s, was also legal advisor to the ANC. A.J. Sililo continued his links with the Joint Council. He was one of the leaders of the Location Advisory Boards Congress in Durban. In addition he was member of the ANC executive committee in the 1940s. Champion, President of the Natal ANC until 1951, attended Joint Council meetings in his capacity as Chairman of the Durban Combined Advisory Boards.[120]

In the second half of the 1940s the Council became more actively involved in strategies of mediation and in exploring possible forms for African 'entryism'. During 1945-1946 the DJC pushed for a broad set of housing reforms which, if realized, would have created the potential apprentice for patronage. Residential segregation was still a non-negotiable item for the Joint Council, but they proposed a series of model villages run by Africans within easy commuting distance of the city and well supplied with cheap transport. They urged that the barrack system be replaced by a series of single-sexed hostels which would be placed 'under the care of Bantu men and their wives'. It was further recommended that hostels be established within white areas for domestic servants. In addition, they stressed the importance of utilizing African labour and entrepreneurship in the construction of this housing. It was also considered imperative for Africans to be given freehold title as a 'desirable step towards security and stability and an encouragement

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120. M.W. Swanson (ed), The Views of Mahlathi: Writings of A.W.G. Champion, a black South African (Pietermaritzburg, 1982), 93.

to good citizenship'.[121]

As part of the DJC's more coherent mediatory role a closer working relationship was developed with the Combined Location Advisory Boards Congress. In 1945 Champion was one of two representatives appointed by this body as its representatives on the DJC.[122] By early 1947 Champion was actually looking for ways of securing his local power base in the face of increasing opposition from the ANC Youth League.[123] Although Champion had been associated with the Council since 1945, a closer relationship developed in 1947. The Joint Council set up a sub-committee to support a public campaign by Champion for the strengthening of the Location Advisory Boards.[124] Closer co-operation ensued with the Advisory Board and Champion.[125] Soon after this development Caney and Shepstone (in his capacity as Senator) met with Smuts to draw the latter's attention to 'the general position of the Africans in Durban.'[126] This led to the prompt appointment of a Commission of investigation. The Council saw this as probably its most impressive achievement of the post-war period. Apart from submitting evidence, the Joint Council was also asked to actively participate in the hearings.[127] The Broome Commission[128] was in part an attempt to prod the Durban municipality in a more progressive direction through the invocation of the central government. However, whether the Smuts

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121. JCR, Cd3.2, DJC Annual Report, 1945, 2, 12.

122. Ibid., 8.

123. Marks, Ambiguities; Swanson, The Views of Mahlathi.

124. The Sub-committee consisted of Caney, Mtimkulu, Ncgobo, Sililo, Zulu and I. Allan, JCR, DJC Executive Minutes, 5 May 1947.

125. Ibid., 6 August 1947; Telephonic interview with I. Allan, Howick, 12 July 1990.

126. JCR, DJC Annual Report, 1947.

127. Ibid.

128. Durban Native Affairs Commission (Broome Commission), Department of Historical Papers, Wits.

government would have pressurized the local municipality to implement the Broome Commission's recommendations became academic with the National Party's electoral victory. The Durban municipality, despite a strong minority of liberal councillors, deferred any serious consideration of these proposals. This in turn weakened Champion's local and regional power base. As the DJC secretary of the time recollects,

> Champion put forward numerous moderate demands but the Durban City Council turned them down. Champion was outflanked in 1951 because he could not bring the bacon home.[129]

Although the DJC remained reasonably active during 1948-1951, the resignation of Caney as chairman took its toll. Increasing state proscription of non-racial activity by legislation such as the Group Areas Act, also had a definite impact. The declining fortunes of the DJC can also be related to the effects of a surge in populist struggles in Durban in the later 1940s. This, Iain Edwards argues, was reflected in the disruption of literary and cultural events at the Bantu Social Centre by **tsotsis** as well as some workers.[130] A number of 'educated Africans' lost some of their enthusiasm for attending meetings of the Joint Council.[131] The closure of the Bantu Social Centre in 1953 - which had provided a central and relaxed venue for meetings - had a further demoralizing effect for both whites and Africans. Several members, Allan included, saw this closure as the final nail in the DJC coffin.[132] The Council continued in a diminished way for the rest of the decade and indeed managed to survive until the mid-1970s.[133] It became more akin to a social club than a visible pressure group and the African members were for the most part

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129. Telephonic interview with I. Allan, Howick, 12 July 1990.

130. Edwards, 'Swing the Assegai Peacefully?', 73.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Discussion with J.G. Horton, Durban, 12 December 1979.

marginal figures.[134]

The Bloemfontein Joint Council outlived its Durban counterpart, remaining in existence until early January 1991.[135] After a series of fits and starts in the 1940s, the Council was reconstituted during 1953-1954,[136] at a time when most of the remaining councils were winding down their operations.[137] A Bantu Social Centre had been launched in 1943 and like its counterparts in Johannesburg and Durban facilitated contact between whites and 'respectable' Africans. During the 1950s it concentrated mainly on welfare issues.[138] The Council operated essentially on the defensive, given a tendency in Bloemfontein 'to withdraw privileges from Non-Whites'.[139] An important factor in the survival of this joint council during the 1950s was the contribution of its 'long suffering secretary', Mrs O'Conner.[140] The Council appears to have enjoyed a reasonably amicable working relationship with the municipal Non-European Affairs Department and the townships' superintendent.[141]

CONCLUSION

The broad trend in the joint council movement during this period is one of continued decline, a process which appears to have accelerated in the late 1940s and early 1950s. However, there were counter-currents of a regional or local nature. The Durban Joint Council in the later 1940s was a larger and more professionally-run body than in the interwar years. The Grahamstown body

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134. Ibid.

135. Communication from Mrs. V. Wood, 15 January 1991.

136. JCR, Cb5.1, general correspondence.

137. SAIRR, **Survey of Race Relations**, 1947-1948, 62; and 1953-1954, 18.

138. **Ibid.**, 1954-1955, 19; and 1955-1956, 16; JCR, Cb5.3, BJC Annual Report, 1960.

139. SAIRR, **Survey of Race Relations, 1955-1956**, 16.

140. JCR, Cb5.3, BJC Annual Report, 1960.

141. Ibid.

was particularly active during the 1940s and 1950s and lasted until the mid-1960s. After a series of false starts during the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Bloemfontein Council was rejuvenated and remained in existence until early 1991.

A shift towards more assertive and mass-based protest politics among Africans had a significant impact on the performance of the joint councils, particularly those in the larger centres. However, there does appear to be a danger of overstressing African disillusionment with the joint councils. As was suggested, the drift of the African petty bourgeoisie away from the councils was part of a move towards more collectivist forms of class assertion. But this process was not accomplished without some struggle within and without the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie.

The declining fortunes of the joint councils should also be related to the growing specialization of function within the white humanitarian and liberal nexus. On the one hand, there was the growth of welfare agencies working among Africans and other blacks and on the other, there was the development of a formal political liberal movement which led to the formation of the Liberal Party in 1953.

One must also take cognizance of the way in which the state, after 1948, reduced the social space in which white-black social interaction could take place. In addition, the state became less accessible to representations from the joint councils. Moreover, the scope for alliances of interest between white liberal networks and urban and rural petty bourgeois groupings was further eroded by the interventions of the state in the reserves and in the realm of education.

CONCLUSION

This study is a response to the need for a critical and detailed treatment of the joint council 'movement'. It looks at the councils on a nation-wide basis. A crucial point to emerge is the impressive volume and diversity of joint council activity. It is also argued that the regional and local dynamics of the theory and practice of liberalism have been underplayed by scholars. A related contention is that the councils constituted a good deal more than an attempt by white liberals to co-opt, albeit it imperfectly, sections of the African petty bourgeoisie.

Traditionally, the joint councils have been seen largely as a response to African unrest during 1918-1920, especially on the Rand. The nature and form of the response is attributed mainly to the recommendations and interventions of James Aggrey and Thomas Jesse Jones of the Phelps Stokes Educational Commission which was touring South Africa during early 1921. However, as this thesis shows, the joint councils were also part of an institutional tradition of voluntary agencies concerned with the 'native question'. During the first two decades of the twentieth century there was a shift from societies broadly concerned with 'native affairs' to societies with a more welfarist orientation. This development was part and parcel of a growing interest among whites in applied philanthropy among Africans.

By the end of 1920 there was a distinct coalescing of philanthropic calculations and interventions with a generalized concern of diffusing or moderating the politization of the African petty bourgeoisie in the towns. Firstly, building on experience gained in Durban in the 1900s, the American Board missionaries played an important role in suggesting new kinds of socio-cultural interventions among Africa petty bourgeoisie. For instance, the Gamma Sigma clubs provided a kind of inter-racial forum where whites lectured to and mixed with younger educated black men with the aim of reducing white-

black distrust and encouraging more individualist and less confrontationist ways of social advancement. The ABM also figured prominently in a project to establish a Bantu Men's Social Centre - a project which came to fruition in 1924 - and provided a site for joint council and related activity. The scheme for the centre involved liaising with sections of the Rand African elite from 1920 onwards.

There were also signs that the African petty bourgeoisie were beginning to explore new avenues of accommodation themselves - a development facilitated by the 1920 Native Affairs Act which encouraged the establishment by municipalities of location advisory boards. In addition, the appointment of C.T. Loram to the NAC, placed him in a position to attempt to establish a network of native welfare societies in centres other than Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria. It was these related developments which anticipated the formation of the Johannesburg Joint Council. This is not to minimize, however, the part of Aggrey and Jesse Jones in the establishment of this body. Theirs was a crucial mediatory role. The intervention of Aggrey was particularly significant because of his African origins and his persuasive argument that economic advancement could most effectively further the pursuit of social and political rights for Africans and that such advancement was best achieved through co-operation with sympathetic whites.

By the mid-1920s the limits to the prevailing joint council strategy had mostly been reached. The majority seemed more concerned with gaining support of white groupings rather than extending their support among the African political elite. The councils were constrained in part by a conservative and unrealistic tendency which precluded them from being a truly effective channel for communication. This is not to dispute the influence Africans had in the joint councils nor the ways in which they sought to use them.

The joint councils were central to the reshaping of liberalism in the second half of the 1920s. There was a shift away from segregationist pre-

scriptions and an accompanying discovery and refurbishment of Cape liberalism. However, there is a danger in overlooking tensions amongst liberals on the question of segregationism during this period. The 'new' liberalism was in part a response to the implementation of the Hertzog administration's segregation programme, as well as a greater appreciation among white liberals of the nature of African opposition to these measures. An important touchstone in the re-evaluation and/or reinforcement of liberal thinking at the time was the Report of the 1925 Wage and Economic Commission which emphasized that the economic destinies of whites and blacks were entwined. These developments were prefigured in part by the actual experiences of those involved in the early joint councils. Social relationships within the joint councils - on the Rand especially - seemed to have nudged whites into more critical positions regarding the state's segregationist policies and strengthened their defence of the Cape African vote.

The 1930s saw a considerable expansion of joint council work but there was not a corresponding development of liberal thought. The SAIRR which was formed in less-than-savoury circumstances in 1929, had a retrogressive impact on joint council strategies and tactics. The Institute hierarchy stalled on proposals to strengthen the organization of the councils, undercut efforts and plans of more progressive white liberals and played a major role in shaping broad joint council policy. The councils were encouraged in the earlier 1930s by the SAIRR to hold their fire in regard to Hertzog's Native Bills and it was only in late 1935 that any serious attempt was made to co-ordinate their opposition to these measures. And ironically, the ensuing campaign against the legislation was orchestrated in the offices of the Institute.

After the bills became law, Rheinallt Jones thought the councils might well become more political. Yet little or nothing was done to put this into effect. By 1940 it had become virtually orthodoxy that the joint councils should be concerned essentially with local matters, the protestations of some

Africans and whites notwithstanding. While opportunities for securing an extended African constituency were presented to the councils in the late 1920s and early 1930s, these were never fully realized owing to the collective inability of whites on the councils to move beyond narrow notions of African advancement.

From the mid-1940s onwards there was a general decline in African participation in the joint councils, but the process was more uneven and intricate than has been appreciated. A number of centres experienced a temporary revival of joint council fortunes during this time. Moreover, the drift of Africans from the councils should not only be seen as indicative of political disillusionment. Increasing popular pressure on the petty bourgeoisie made them less enthusiastic about participating in ventures which might be deemed elitist. In a crude sense then, there was a shift to more collectivist forms of activism. The decline of the joint councils, as argued in the final chapter, was a complex phenomenon. African disengagement was cause and effect of reduced support from whites, the proscription of social space by the National Party regime, the proliferation of other liberal and philanthropic organizations, and the logistics of running voluntary and decentralized agencies.

From the preceding chapters, a number of key points become clear. This thesis attempted to prove that liberalism was more diverse and open-ended than has been previously argued. This point has been borne out by the diversity of opinion within the liberals themselves. Individuals, ranging from libertarian socialists such as Eddie Roux and Clare Goodlatte to Fabian Socialists such as W.M. Macmillan, Mabel Palmer and Don Molteno through to essentially conservative philanthropists such as C.T. Loram, all found a niche within the joint council movement. It is simply bad historiography to assume that such a wide range of opinion could act as a coherent socio-political grouping.

The prominent role of intellectuals within the liberal movement deserves further consideration and falls beyond the scope of this study. A few

thoughts must suffice here. Firstly, the liberal intellectuals were more than agents of the bourgeoisie, and can rather be seen as tangentially related to the ruling class, a possibility that is discussed in Gramsci's writings.[1] Secondly, the liberal intellectuals were predominantly white with all this entails in terms of wider power relations in society. Intellectuals can never be neutral, and this was never more the case than in South Africa during the period under consideration. In the end any theorist constructs his vision on the basis of postulates evident in terms of experience.[2] The intellectual does not float between heaven and earth, but bases his vision on theories which are but the abridgement of social circumstances around him.[3]

Likewise the class location of the African members of the joint councils is also a complex one. The thesis has suggested the need for a more sophisticated notion of class which takes due cognizance of Africans as individual social actors. For instance, within the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie there were differing approaches to protest politics and African socio-economic advancement. Within the intellectual and political elite the play of temperament and personal networks, as well as local and regional imperatives, influenced individual and collective decision-making.

It has been suggested that the joint councils were but a device for co-opting the African petty bourgeoisie. However, the picture that emerges from this study reveals that this was not the case. The process of co-option was at best an incomplete one. Those Africans involved in the joint councils were not fully representative of the petty bourgeoisie. There was always a significant section outside their orbit, whilst the councils' influence was never consistent. Neither can the councils always be seen as an ideological

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1. Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith (eds), **Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci** (London, 1978).

2. B. Parekh, **Contemporary Political Thinkers** (Oxford, 1982), 102.

3. **Ibid.**, 114-117.

one-way street. As Foucault argues power and influence are never the exclusive domain of the ruling group.[4] Centres of power are evident at all levels of society and it is possible to envisage the councils being used as a conduit for pressures from below as well as from above. Indeed, as we have seen there were several instances of Africans taking the initiative in setting up joint councils.

There were certain inefficiencies in joint council operations which cannot be overlooked. Structures intended for ideological control and transformation do not always work. The relative 'efficiency' of the joint council varied immensely with time and place. This was not only due to organizational inertia and malaise, but also to the incoherence of the intentions of white members. At times white members seem to have been reluctant to employ the necessary resources (financial, organizational, time) to attempt to co-opt blacks in earnest, although the energy of individual members should not be discounted. In the late 1930s and 1940s there was a tendency to look to the state, rather than to Africans themselves, as the means for facilitating race relations. There was also a distinct paternalism among white members - as witness Z.K. Matthews's comment that missionaries and joint councils tended to talk to instead of with Africans.[5]

The joint councils were firmly rooted in a very distinct constituency, but had a far greater degree of flexibility and autonomy of action than the SAIRR which had a formalized network of support and financial backing. This enabled the joint councils to explore issues of a greater political significance and controversy than the Institute. However, the lack of a formalized support base made the joint councils vulnerable to the vicissitudes of a shifting political environment. Lack of consistent financial backing ham-

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4. See G. Wood, 'Beyond the Labour Processes' (Association of Sociologists of Southern Africa conference paper, Cape Town, 1991), 12.

5. Matthews, **Freedom for My People**, 221.

strung the councils as did fluctuating membership figures. The situation was exacerbated by frequent non-payment of subscriptions. Bureaucracies tend to perpetuate themselves. The SAIRR proved no exception, and diverted much potential funding, logistical backup and organizational activism away from the councils.

The history of the joint councils should be seen as part of the shifting institutional forms and interventions concerned with the control and\or welfare of Africans. During their formation in the 1920s, the joint councils benefitted from previous activity in the area. They built on earlier institutional ventures concerned with African welfare. Interestingly, the decline of the joint councils was matched by the growth of more specialized welfare bodies. With the rise of the Bantu Affairs Department political empire, the state unilaterally assumed control of a number of organizational functions that were hitherto concerns of the joint councils. Arbitrary bureaucratic decision-making replaced consultation. In the changed political environment the joint councils found themselves marginalized. Organizations such as the Black Sash and the Liberal Party offered a more exciting vehicle for political activism. In contrast, amongst African constituents, the younger generation turned to more radical forms of political activism. Thus, the rise and fall of the joint councils should be viewed in the context of shifting organizational initiatives.

What, then, was the achievement of the joint councils? At a local level, when engaged in small-scale activities, the councils were able (in a limited fashion) to alleviate some of the particularly harsh aspects of an uncaring society. Whilst the philanthropic spirit underlying the councils was fundamentally flawed, their continued functioning contributed towards the perpetuation of a social consciousness amongst whites. They contributed to the political education and/or experiences of a wide range of people. Oliver Tambo, Bram Fisher, A.W.G. Champion, Jack Simons, Margaret Ballinger, Edgar Brookes, Selby Msimang, Trevor Huddleston and Gatsha Buthelezi were among the many

prominent people, past and present, who at some time or another were involved in the councils. The sheer diversity of the membership of these bodies ensured that they were more than a one-way street. The councils were a permeable institution, forming part of wider discourses of social criticism and should be viewed in the context of the broader organizational environment.

In an increasingly monochromatic political scene, the role of the councils became increasingly idiosyncratic. However, it is too glib to simply dismiss the councils as an arcane exercise in liberal philanthropy. When assessed objectively, the achievements of the joint councils seem insignificant. However, the councils enriched the socio-political discourse of an era. As Hannah Arendt observes, it is, in the end, the space and scope of socio-political activity that enriches and gives meaning to a society.[6]

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6. H. Arendt, 'The Revolutionary Tradition and its Lost Treasure' in M. Sandel, **Liberalism and its Critics** (Oxford, 1984).

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APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Aggrey, Dr James Kwegyir (1876-1927)
A Ghanaian-born educator and clergyman and one of the most eminent Africans of his day. His thinking on race relations reflected patterns current in the United States, where the stress was on compromise and co-operation by blacks, and not on integration or the achievement of political rights. His appeals for racial harmony reinforced the disposition of many ANC leaders for participation in the inter-racial councils then being formed in major South African cities. Edwin W. Smith wrote a biography of him, **Aggrey of Africa.**
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge,** 2

Ballinger, Margaret Livingston nee Hodgson (1894-1980)
Lecturer and member of parliament. Born in Scotland, M. immigrated to South Africa in 1904 when her father obtained a post in Port Elizabeth. Before being elected a Native Representative of the Cape Eastern District in 1938, she taught history at Rhodes College and the University of the Witwatersrand. She remained in Parliament until African representation in Parliament was abolished by the National Government in 1960. M. was a founder member and first leader of the South African Liberal Party, but lost touch with the party after it had shifted to a more radical position - in particular the endorsement of universal franchise. She was the wife of William Ballinger.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge,** Vol IV, 4-5.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography,** Vol V, 24-25
South African Who's Who, 1945, 51

Ballinger, William George (1894-1974)
Journalist, politician and trade union organizer. W was born in Britain. He moved to South Africa in 1928 to take up the post of advisor to the Industrial Commercial Union (ICU), a black trade union organization in South Africa established by Clements Kadalie. Unable to reconcile the hostile factions of the ICU, he advised the British Independant Labour Party to discontinue funds to the ICU. In 1948 W. was elected to Senate by black voters of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. W. lost his seat in 1960 when black vote was abolished. Husband of Margaret Ballinger, he, too, was a founder member Liberal Party in 1953.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge,** Vol IV, 5.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography,** Vol V, 25-26.
South African Who's Who, 1945, 51

Bridgman, Dr Frederick Bainerd (1869-1925)
Missionary and social worker, B. was born at Ifumi mission station, Natal and spoke Zulu from childhood. After completing his education in the USA, B. began working for ABM on the Witwatersrand. One of the first to be concerned about living conditions of urbanized Africans, he devoted much time to establishing recreational institutions for them.

Eric Rosenthal (compiler), **South African Dictionary of National Biography**, (London 1966), 43

Brookes, E.H. (1897-1979)
Academic, politician and writer, B. was born in England and emigrated with his family to Natal in 1901. During the 1920s and early 1930s he taught in the department of Public Administration and Political Studies at Transvaal University College. In 1927 he was a member of the South African delegation to the League of Nations. B. was principal of Adam's College, Natal (1933-1945) and a delegate to the United Nations. He also served in Senate as 'Native Representative' for Natal. In 1952 he became professor of history and political science at Natal University and in 1964 national chairman of the Liberal Party. Late in life he was ordained into the Anglican ministry.
M. de Beer, **Who Did What in South Africa** (Johannesburg 1988), 34
South African Who's Who, 1947-1948, 141

Burton, Henry, K.C. (1866-1935)
Advocate, politician and statesman, B. was born in Cape Town and admitted to the bar in 1892. After the Jameson Raid he was a strong supporter of the Afrikaner Bond. B. defended many Cape Afrikaners in the treason trials held after the South African War. Elected to the Cape Parliament in 1902, he was responsible for the downfall of the ministry of Sir Gordon Sprigg. In 1908 he became Attorney General and after Union he held the post of Minister of Native Affairs and, later, Minister of Railways. B. was transferred to the Ministry of Finance in 1920 and retired from Parliament in 1924.
De Beer, **Who Did What in South Africa**, 36
Rosenthal, **Dictionary of National Biography**, 53

Butler, Mary (1884-)
Nurse and social worker, B was born in Cradock. Her father established and edited the newspaper; **The Midlands News and Karoo Farmer.** B qualified as a midwife and was closely involved in social and political issues affecting Africans. She became a full-time welfare worker in the Cradock location in the late 1920s, but left after a disagreement with certain African leaders.
G. Butler, **Karoo Morning** (Cape Town 1977)

Calata, James A. (1885-1983)
Teacher, minister and political leader, C. was born near Kingwilliamstown to a peasant family. Trained as teacher, he was subsequently ordained as deacon in Anglican Church. C. served for 40 years as minister at Cradock St. James' Mission and played an active role in Xhosa cultural affairs and national church. In 1930 C. joined the ANC and soon after was elected provincial president for Cape, a post he held until 1949. An ANC branch was founded in Port Elizabeth as a result of his efforts. After becoming general-secretary of ANC in 1936, he played an important role in the replacement of Pixley Seme by Z.R. Mahabane as president of the organization. A politician with a Christian perspective, C. believed that Christianity would never develop genuine roots in South Africa unless African complaints were dealt with politically. He became a target for more militant members of the ANC Youth League in the late 1940s. Government harassment also intensified during this period, he was jailed in 1960 and shortly after received a six-months suspended sentence under the Unlawful Organizations Act.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 16

Champion, Allison Wessels George (1893-1975)
Policeman, clerk, trade unionist and political leader. C. was born on the lower Tugela, Natal and educated at the ABM Amanzimtoti Training Institute. C. began his career as a policeman in Johannesburg. After two years he became a clerk in Crown Mines, but resigned in 1925 to join the ICU - first as its Transvaal secretary and later as secretary for Natal. After the ICU began breaking up in 1928 C. was charged with financial irregularities and suspended. C. than established the independant ICU yase Natal which declined after his banishment from Natal in 1930 under the Riotous Assembly Act. A long-time member of the ANC executive, C. became the party's provincial secretary in 1945 and acting president-general in 1946-1947. A conservative influence, C. was disliked by the organizers of the Youth League who engineered his defeat in the Natal presidential elections in 1951. He hence resigned from Congress and focussed his energies on local advisory board issues.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 18
Rosenthal, **Dictionary of National Biography**, 62

Dube, Rev Dr John Langalibalele (1871-1946)
Zulu clergyman, political leader and journalist. Born in Natal, D. was educated at the ABM Amanzimtoti Training Institute. After studying theology in America, D. was ordained by the Congregation Church. Returning to Natal, D. established the Ohlange Institute near Durban. This school was based on Booker T. Washington's principles of self-help and vocational training. In 1906 he founded **Ilanga lase Natal**, an influential African newspaper. The first president of the SANNC, D. led a delegation of this party to Britain in 1914, to protest against the Native Land Act. A moderate in his views, D. aroused wide-spread criticism when he chose to support the Hertzog Bills. In 1936 he received an honorary doctorate from the University of South Africa for his services to African education.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 25
Rosenthal, **Dictionary of National Biography**, 104

Evans, Maurice (1854-1929)
Born in Britain, E. came to South Africa in 1875. He entered the Natal Legislative Council in 1897 and was returned as Durban representative in 1906. E. was appointed chairman of the Invasion Losses Inquiry Commission. Published the pamphlet **The Native Problem in Natal.**
South African's Who's Who, 1907 and **1917-1918.**

Fremantle, Prof Henry Eardley Stephan (1874-1932)
Academic, editor and politician. Born in England, F. was educated at Eton and Oxford. Moved to South Africa to assume the post of professor of English and philosophy at the South African College in 1899. F. was editor of the **South African News** from 1903-1908 during which he followed a pro-Afrikaans policy. A close friend of Hertzog, he was one of the few English-speaking founder members of the National Party.
Rosenthal, **Dictionary of National Biography**, 129

Garvey, Marcus Aurelius (1887-1940)
Entrepreneur and political leader. Born in Jamaica, G. moved to the United States and became the charismatic leader of a mass awakening of Blacks throughout the world in the 1920s. Established the Universal Negro Improvement Association through which he promoted racial pride, economic self-reliance and

unity. In 1920 G. proclaimed a 'Negro Empire' and preached 'Back to Africa'. A steamship company - the Black Star Line - was formed to achieve this objective, but the company soon became bankrupt. Charged with mail fraud and income tax evasion, G. was jailed and then deported from the USA to Jamaica in 1927. He died in London. His newspaper, **Negro World**, influenced many black leaders.
Swanson, **The Views of Mahlathi**, 185

Godlo, Richard Horbo (1899-1972)
Clerk, trader, journalist and politician. G. was born in the Cape and became an influential moderate in African politics. A protege of Sol Plaatje, he was a founder and long-time president of the South African Advisory Boards. An elected member of the Native's Representative Council from inception (1937) to dissolution (1951), G was also a member of the ANC and in the 1940s he worked with A.B. Xuma on the national executive. Opposing the militancy of the Youth League, G. moved out of politics in the late 1940s.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 31

Gumede, Josiah Tshangana (c.1870-c.1947)
Teacher, journalist and leading political figure in Natal. Educated at the 'Native College' in Grahamstown, G. became a teacher in Somerset East. A founder member of the Natal Native Congress, G. held the position of secretary and vice-president in the organization at various times. A founder member of the SANNC, G. was president of the ANC from 1927 to 1930. During this period the ANC was dwarfed by Clements Kadalie's ICU and G. attempted to increase ANC contact with working class sentiment. This led to closer association with the SACP and ultimately to G.'s ousting as ANC president. His son, Archibald Gumede, was an activist and defendant in the Treason Trial.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, 34

Hertzog, Gen. James Barry Munnik (1866-1942)
Lawyer, Boer general and Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. H. was born near Wellington and studied law at the Victoria College, Stellenbosch. A general during the South African War, H. became political leader of the OFS after the war. A forceful champion of Afrikaner nationalism, a speech at De Wildt in 1912 advocating the principle of 'South Africa First' and 'Two Streams Policy' (English and Afrikaans) brought him into opposition with PM Louis Botha. H. established the National Party and in 1924 became Prime Minister. Later he and Jan Smuts founded the United South African National Party (1932). In 1939 he refused to declare war on Germany, was defeated in Parliament and resigned office.
Rosenthal, **Dictionary of National Biography**, 166
De Beer, **Who Did What in South Africa**, 84

Hoernle, Reinhold Friedrich Alfred (1880-1943)
Academic and South African philosopher. H was born in Germany and studied at Oxford. His career began as a lecturer at the University of St Andrew's. In 1908 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the South African College, Cape Town. He went to Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1912 and remained there until 1914, returning in 1920 for three years. From 1914 to 1920 H. was professor of philosophy at Harvard. He returned to South Africa where he held the chair of philosophy at the University of Witwatersrand until his death. A liberal, he wrote a number of books on philosophy and was a pioneer in ventures to improve race relations in South Africa.
Rosenthal, **Dictionary of National Biography**, 171

De Beer, **Who Did What in South Africa**, 85

Jabavu, Davidson Don Tengo (1885-1959)
Educator, civic and political leader, J. campaigned for the Cape ideal of full citizenship for Africans, which would be achieved through inter-racial co-operation and which was symbolized by the Cape franchise as it existed before the Hertzog Bills. Son of John Tengo Jabavu, founder and editor of **Imvo Zabantsundu**, J. was born in King William's Town. He obtained a bachelor's degree in English at London University in 1912 and in 1915 was appointed to the staff of Fort Hare University. Founder of the South African Native Farmers' Association, J. was the long-time president of the Cape African Teachers' Association and the South African Native Teachers' Federation. In 1935, J. with Pixley Seme assembled the first All African Convention with the objective of unifying opposition to the Hertzog Bills. The following year this organization was placed on a permanent footing. For many years J. distanced himself from the ANC but in 1948 he signed the 'Call for Unity' issued by ANC and AAC leaders. These moves, however, failed.
Swanson, **The Views of Mahlathi**, 72
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, 39

Jones Thomas Jesse (1873-1950)
Educator and theologian. J. was born in North Wales and immigrated with his parents to the United States at the age of nine. Interested in social conditions, J. obtained his PhD at Columbia University, New York on the subject; 'the sociology of a New York city block'. After working in various organizations, including the US Bureau of Education, J. was appointed by the Phelps Stokes Fund to undertake a study of Negro education in 1913. After the First World War had ended, J. strove to ease the re-entry of Negro soldiers into civil life and he was largely responsible for the establishment of a permanent Commission on Inter-Racial Co-operation in the Southern States. Between September 1920 and August 1921, J. led the first Phelp Stokes Commission to West, South and Equatorial Africa. The Commission's objective was to investigate and report on educational conditions in these areas. In January 1924 J. accompanied the second Commission to Africa and in 1925 published the report of this Commission. He provided a great deal of the stimulus to the development of more progressive African education policies by various governments.
J.W.C. Dougall, 'Thomas Jesse Jones: Crusader for Africa' **The International Review of Missions** XXXIX, 155, 1950

Letanka, Daniel Simon (1874-c.1932)
Journalist and African leader. L. was born at Saulspoort, Rustenberg and studied at the Native College in Grahamstown. When he was unable to continue his education overseas, L. became a court interpreter. L. moved in to journalism in 1910, establishing a weekly newspaper **Motsoaelle** (the Friend) later renamed **Morumioa** (the Messenger), to serve Setswana speakers of the northern Transvaal. In 1912, **Morumioa** was merged into **Abantu-Batho** on which L. worked for the next twenty years.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, 57.

Loram, Charles Templeman (1879 -1940)
Educationist and government official. Born Pietermaritzburg, L. studied at Cambridge and Columbia universities. His PhD thesis, **The Education of the South African Native** (1917), became the pivotal work on that subject. L. returned to South Africa as Chief Inspector of Native Education for Natal but

resigned this post in 1920 to be appointed to the newly-created Union Native Affairs Commission. He played central role in structuring the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. During the 1920s he developed an awareness of the Bantu problems and as a recognized authority on Bantu education served on various commissions sponsored by the Phelp-Stokes Fund and the International Education Board (1920-1921, 1924) His perception of African development was paternalistic. In conjunction with Pim, Rheinallt Jones and others L. was instrumental in altering native welfare associations into the joint councils. He left South Africa 1931 to become chairman and director of studies for the Department of Culture Contacts and Race Relations at Yale. L. spent his last years writing for educational journals and was involved in conference activities.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, 60
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography** Vol III, 537

Mabaso, C.S. (-1936)
Teacher, shop-keeper and clerk. M. was born and educated in Natal. For 20 years he was employed as secretary and book-keeper for **Abantu-Batho**. M. was a member of TAC and a founder member of the ANC. He acted as ANC teasurer-general during 1924-1927 under the presidency of Z.R. Mahabane and as ANC financial secretary in the early 1930s.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, 63

Macmillan, William Miller (1885-1974)
Historian and academic. M. was born in Scotland and immigrated to South Africa with his parents at the age of five. Educated at Stellenbosch, M. was awarded one of the first Rhodes scholarships which he used to read history at Oxford. In 1910 he appointed to the department of history and economics at Rhodes University in Grahamstown and in 1917 accepted the chair of history at the South African School of Mines and Technology. M. has been designated the founder of the school of 'liberal' thought in South Africa, for he was the first historian to attempt to understand the mechanics behind discrimination of colour. In the 1920s he studied Black poverty with respect to questions of land and labour, opposing Hertzog's segregation policies. When he strongly criticized Oswald Pirow, Minister of Justice, in 1932, M. was asked by the university's principal to refrain from so doing or resign. M. choose the latter alternative. He subsequently travelled widely and wrote extensively on British colonies.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography**, V, 484

Makgatho, Sefako Mapogo (1861-1951)
Teacher, entrepreneur and statesman. M. was the son of a chief, born near Pietersburg in northern Transvaal. A student of the Kilnerton Training Institute, M. went to Britain in 1882 and studied education and religion in Middelsex. He returned to South Africa in 1885 and accepted a post at the Kilnerton Training Institute. During this period he founded the Transvaal African Teachers' Association. Later he formed the Transvaal Native Political Union, which merged under his guidance with the Transvaal Native Congress. He remained leader of the Transvaal Congress from 1912 until the mid 1930s. In 1917 M. became president-general of the ANC, replacing the discredited Dube. Advocating legal action to win African rights, the ANC under Makagatho won several court victories, such as the prevention of an increase in the Transvaal poll tax. M. was a Methodist lay preacher and used this influence in his drive for new ANC recruits. M. was ANC national treasurer in early 1930s, and still active in late 1940s Congress.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, 68

Mancoe, John Bidwell (1895-)
Teacher and trade unionist. Born in Reddersburg, OFS, M. studied at Healdtown and became a teacher. He joined the ICU in 1923, became secretary for the Bloemfontein branch and later provincial secretary. M. was centred in East London as secretary for Clements Kadalie's Independant ICU in the 1930s.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, 71

Mapikela, Thomas Mtobi (1869-1945)
Carpenter, builder and African leader. M. was born in the eastern Cape and by the turn of the century had established a successful business in Bloemfontein. M. was President of the OFS Native Congress and a founder member of SANNC. He was a member of two delegations which petitioned the British government; in 1909 against the Act of Union and in 1914 against the Land Act. He was chairman of the Bloemfontein Advisory Board and treasurer of the South African Location Advisory Board. M. served on the executive of the ANC and AAC in the 1930s. He also represented Transvaal and OFS urban areas in the Native Representative Council from 1937 until 1945.

Marquard, Leopold (1897-1974)
Educationist, author and philanthropist, M. was born in the Orange Free State and after seeing action in World War I, gained a Rhodes Scholarship to New College, Oxford. After obtaining a B.A. (Hons) degree in history, M. returned to South Africa where he taught at Grey College, Bloemfontein, from 1923-1940. He was largely responsible for forming the National Union of South African Students in 1924. He joined the Union Defence Force in 1940 as assistant to Dr E.G. Malherbe, Director of the Army Education Service. Editor of the **Army Education Handbook**, he became director of the organization in 1945. He represented South Africa at the first meeting of UNESCO (1945) and after demobilization he was employed by Oxford University Press as editorial manager. M. was a member of the Flag Commission in 1927 and a founder member of the Liberal Party. He was a prolific writer and a stout defender of civil liberties.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography**, Vol V, 492

Molteno, Donald Barkly (1908-1972)
Politician, advocate and academic, M. was born in Cape Town and was the grandson of the first Prime Minister of the Cape Colony under responsible government, Sir John Charles Molteno. After obtaining a degree in law at Cambridge University, M. practised at the Cape Bar until 1964 when he became a lecturer at the University of Cape Town. In 1937 M. was elected Native Representative for the Cape Western Electoral Circle. A defendant of the Cape liberal tradition, he strongly opposed the doctrine of segregation formulated in the 1920s. Dismayed by the election of the National Party government, M. left Parliament in 1948 and returned to full-time practice. He was one of the legal representatives for the Coloureds in their struggle against the Separate Representation of Voters Bill. M. was a member of the Liberal Party and later the Progressive Party.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography**, Vol V, 516

Henry Selby Msimang (1886-1982)
Teacher, journalist, clerk, interpreter, businessman. M. was born in Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, and entered the Kilnerton Training institution, in Pretoria, as one of its first students and later qualified as a teacher at

Healdtown. In 1917 he moved to Bloemfontein and was one of the few members of the ANC to show an interest in labour organization. M. was elected President of the ICU in 1920. He was secretary of the AAC, Champion's ally in Natal ANC until 1950, then a supporter of the Youth League. A founder member of the Liberal Party, 1953.
Swanson, **The Views of Mahlathi**, 43
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 104

Rev A. Mtimkulu
Born in Natal, M. was ordained a minister in the Wesleyan Methodist Church but later left it to join the independant Bantu Methodist Church, of which he became president. M. had been active in the Natal Native Congress before the formation of the ANC. After living in Cape Town during the 1920s and early 1930s, he returned to Natal and became deputy leader of the provincial ANC.
Haines, 'The Opposition', 49

Nicholls, George Heaton (1876-1959)
Soldier, police officer and politician, H. was born in Hounslow and came to South Africa during the South African War after serving the British army in India. N. was appointed to the Barotse Native Armed Police in 1902, but soon moved to Rhodesia and later accepted the position of Magistrate of Mambare Divison, Papua (British New Guinea). He returned to South Africa to engage in sugar farming at Umfolozi and became the first President of the South African Sugar Planters Union. N. was elected to Union Parliament for Zululand constituency in 1920. He was leader of the Union Federal Party (Natal) and was a member of the Native Affairs Commission.
Who's Who of Southern Africa, 1958

Palmer, Mabel (1876-1958)
Educationist, P. was born in Northumberland, England, and obtained a M.A. at Glasgow University. An active member of the Fabian society, she helped organize Fabian summer schools in England. P. arrived in Durban in 1921 to take up a post at the Natal Technical College and later took the position of lecturer in economic history at the Natal University College. After her official retirement, P. undertook what is regarded as her greatest work - the founding of university education for blacks in Natal.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography** Vol IV, 445

Phillips, Ray Edwards (1889-1967)
Missionary. Born in West Virginia, USA, P. obtained a B.Sc from Charleton College in 1914 and was awarded a PhD at Yale in 1937. P. arrived in Johannesburg in 1921 to act as a missionary for the ABM. Interested in social work, P. promoted a number of educational and social programmes for blacks. A founder member of the SAIRR and stout defender of the role of the English press in South African race relations, P. became embroiled in controversy when he argued that apartheid turned Christians into communists. P. returned to America in 1958 and was involved in various church activities.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography** Vol V, 585

Pim, James Howard (1862-1934)
Accountant and philanthropist, P. was born in Dublin and obtained a M.A. at Trinity College. In 1890 P. come to South Africa to take up a position at the British South Africa Company and was appointed to the Johannesburg town coun-

cil in 1903 by Lord Milner. After he was defeated in the 1910 provincial council elections, P. decided to concentrate on municipal matters and community welfare. He served on the 1913 national economic commission and was a member of the cost-of-living commission (1916-1918). Influenced by Rhodes's dictum of 'equal rights for every citizen' he made an important contribution to the then neglected sphere of African welfare and development. He was governor of the University College of Fort Hare and a lifelong member of the Society of Friends.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography**, Vol I, 621

Rheinallt Jones, John David (1882-1953)
Lecturer, race relations official and senator. RJ was born in Wales and immigrated to South Africa with his brother in 1905. Initially based in Cape Town, he worked for the National Bank and was editor of **The South African Quarterly**. RJ moved to Johannesburg in 1919 and was involved in transforming the Johannesburg School of Mines into the University of the Witwatersrand. Employed by the University as assistant registrar and lecturer, RJ played an important role in the formation of the joint councils and SAIRR during his leisure time. From 1937 to 1942 RJ represented the black voters of the Transvaal and OFS in Senate. RJ failed in his bid to be re-elected and in 1947 he became advisor on black affairs for the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa. He was appointed director of the SAIRR in 1950. RJ was a prolific writer and a member of numerous organizations such as the Transvaal Advisory Board for Native Education.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography**, Vol V, 640.

Eddie Roux (1903-1966)
While a student R. helped to found the Young Communist League in 1921. In 1923 he joined the CPSA and was drawn into the wing of the party led by Sidney Bunting which favoured the recruitment of Africans. R. was awarded a fellowship to Cambridge University where he spent the years 1926-1929 completing a PhD in Botany. In 1928 he went to Moscow as a South African delegate to the sixth congress of the Communist International, where the CPSA was instructed to adopt the 'Native Republic' slogan. Although opposed to this doctrine, his loyalty to the CPSA remained unshaken.
Haines, 'The Opposition', 70

Schreiner, Oliver Deneys (1890-1981)
A lawyer and judge, S. was the son of Cape Parliamentrian, W.P. Schreiner. S. was educated at the South Africa and Trinity College, Cambridge. He attained the position of Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa as well as Judge President of the Appeal Courts of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. S. became Chancellor of the University of Witwatersrand in 1962 and held that position until 1974. He was also President of the SAIRR from 1962-1964.
Who's Who of Southern Africa 1981

Shepstone , Denis Gem (1888-1966)
Advocate and Administrator of Natal, S. was the grandson of Theophilus Shepstone and was born in Durban. He was a elected to the Durban City Council in 1939 and in 1943 was nominated by the Smuts government to be one of the four senators dealing with African affairs. Administrator of Natal from 1948 until 1958, S. played a major role in negotiations regarding the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (1946). The first chancellor of the University of Natal, S. held this position until his death.

HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography**, Vol IV, 565

Skota, T.D. Mweli (c.1880-)
Clerk, journalist, entrepreneur and politician. Born in Kimberley, S. was a one of the founders of **Abantu-Batho** and editor of the newspaper in the 1920s. A long-time member of the ANC national executive, S. was responsible for the shortening of the name of the SANNC to ANC in the mid-1920s. In the next decade he became a member of the AAC executive, but continued to support the ANC. S. adopted a national and pan-Africanist perspective, calling for a pan-African convention in South Africa in late 1920 to reinforce the demands for African rights. Most ANC leaders regarded this call as impractical and radical. S. was responsible for the publication of the well-known **African Yearly Register, An Illustrated National Biographical Dictionary (Who's Who) of Black Folks in Africa.**

Seme, Dr Pixley Ka Isak (1880-1928)
Lawyer, politician and journalist. S. was born in Zululand and grew up on a mission station. After completing his secondary education S. read for a B.A. at Columbia University, New York and then studied law at Oxford. He was admitted to the bar in London in 1910 and than returned to Johannesburg to begin his practice as an attorney. In 1911 S. began to arouse interest among African chiefs and commoners for the idea of a national African organization. When the SANNC was established in 1912 S. undertook the task of beginning an SANNC newspaper. The **Abantu-Batho** was launched late in 1912 and was published for 20 years. S. built up close ties with the royal family of Swaziland and married the daughter of Dinizulu, the Zulu paramount chief. In 1930 he was elected president-general of the ANC but was soon criticized for being too cautious and autocratic. He managed to remain ANC president until 1937. S. was also instrumental in convening the first AAC meeting.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, 137

Soga, Mina Tembeka (c.1893-)
Initially a teacher at Queenstown, S. was instrumental in the formation of the National Council for African Women. The objectives of this organization was to make women take responsibility for their own affairs, to encourage women to develop their skills, and to share these skills with others. After attending World Conference of Churches in India, S. spent some time travelling around the globe addressing various conferences and audiences. Returning to South Africa at the beginning of the second World War, S. became president of the women's Council. She retained this position for fifteen years.
Cape Times, 16 June 1978

Taylor, Rev Dr James Dexter (1879-1959)
Missionary and philologist, T. was born in Massachsetts. Upon completing his education in theology T. joined the ABM and came to South Africa as a missionary in 1898. Originally based in Natal, T. moved to Johannesburg in 1927 where he took the lead in establishing the Christian Council, the Bridgman Memorial Hospital, the Alexandra Health Centre and other institutions. He gained recognition for his translation of the Bible into Zulu. T. returned to the USA in 1948.
Rosenthal, **Dictionary of National Biography**, 372

Thema, Rev. Richard Victor Selopa (1886-1955)
Born near Pietersburg, T. attended a series of mission schools and later continued his studies at Lovedale. During the First World War he became active in the ANC and served as its provincial-secretary in the Transvaal. In the 1920s he worked as the superintendent of the Bantu Mens' Social Centre but left in 1932 to become editor of the **Bantu World**. He was one of the original organizers of the AAC and later served on its Executive. His first loyalty remained with the ANC, however, and he played a role in its resuscitation in the late 1930s. T. was elected to the NRC in 1937 in a seat representing the rural areas of the Transvaal and OFS. He remained on this body until it was dissolved in 1951. T. was strongly opposed to the radical wing of the ANC, and in 1951 he formed an ANC 'National-minded Block'. This group opposed the launching of the Defiance Campaign of 1952 which contributed a further waning of what little influential he had in African politics.
Karis and Carter, **From Protest to Challenge**, Vol IV, 155-157

Tredgold, Sir Clarkson Henry (1865-1938)
Born in Cape Town, T. was educated at the South African College, where he studied law. T moved to Bulawayo in 1897 and assumed the position of Public Prosecutor. He became Solicitor-General in 1900 and Attorney-General in 1903. Sixteen years later T. was given the appointment of judge of the Supreme Court of Southern Rhodesia. He retired in 1925 and died in East London.
Rosenthal, **Dictionary of National Biography**, 380

Washington, Booker T. (1856-1915)
W. was born In Virginia, USA, of slave parents. He became principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. W. believed that cultural education without vocational training was a waste of time and in his school every student had to spend a portion of the day doing physical work. W.'s goal in life was to improve understanding and co-operation between people of different races. In this field he achieved great results. In countless southern American states meetings he held were the first to ever bring white and black people together. W. soon became a national figure and the recognized spokesman for his people.
Hawkins (ed), **Booker T. Washington and His Critics**

Xuma, Alfred Bitini (1893-1962)
Physician and president-general of the ANC. X. was born in Transkei and educated at a missionary school. After qualifying as a primary school teacher, X. studied in the USA and obtained an M.D. degree in 1926. X. then spent a year in Europe and became the first black person to obtain a PhD from the London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. He returned to South Africa in 1927 and opened his practice in 1928. A member of the JJC, X. strongly opposed the Hertzog Segregation Bills and was instrumental in the formation of the AAC. In 1940 X. was elected president-general of the ANC and revitalized the then chaotic body. Under his leadership the ANC adopted a new constitution in 1943 which emphasized the protection of the rights of blacks, the promotion of black unity and opposition to discrimination. With X. at its helm, the ANC changed from an organization which supported constitutional change to one of non-co-operation, but he gradually lost control of the ANC from 1947 and in 1949 was defeated in his bid to be reelected as the organization's president-general. X., however, continued to participate in various protest measures such as bus and school boycotts. He was arrested in 1956 and named as an accused in the High Treason case although he was not brought to court.
HSRC, **Dictionary of South African Biography**, Vol V, 901-903.

APPENDIX B : ARTICLE

LIBERALISM OR PHILANTHROPIC ENGINEERING?

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF NATIVE WELFARE' 1900-1920

This paper examines the emergence and workings of certain liberal and philanthropic ventures during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The empirical emphasis falls on two related organizational forms and developments: firstly the social service work in Durban and Johannesburg of the American Board of Missions and allied agencies; secondly, the 'Native Affairs' societies and their successors, the 'Native Welfare' societies. The Native Welfare societies, in particular, were in a very real sense the progenitors of the joint Councils ('inter-racial voluntary bodies of blacks and whites) which in turn fathered (somewhat to their surprise) the South African Institute of Race Relations.

A central argument is that the construction of new philanthropic/liberal practices and institutions during 1900-1919, is directly linked to capitalist urbanization and the changing composition and structure of urban society. Transformations in liberalism during this period are not adequately explained by reference to the extension of liberal ideas from the missions and the Cape to a new urban environment. Liberalism, as a practice, was largely a system of rural relationships. New practices and theories had to be developed in order to comprehend, control and communicate with Africans who were migrating to, or who were already living in, an impersonal and increasingly segregated urban environment.

In understanding the shifts and discontinuities in early 20th century South African 'liberalism', a short examination of changes in turn-of-the century 'Cape liberalism' is helpful. At the most general level such changes were related to the emergence of the New Imperialism during the 1880s and changed European views on race. British imperialism by the end of the century had become, according to Semmel, a 'social imperialism' and was informed by the pseudo-scientific eugenics of Karl Pearson and by Social Darwinism.[1] Social imperialism deified the imperial/Anglo-Saxon 'race' and undercut the early and mid-Victorian objective 'of turning Africans into black Englishman'.[2] In this regard, references to the 'destinies' of the 'Anglo-Saxon race' are common in turn-of-the-century Cape liberal pronouncements.

To call attention to the influence of social imperialism and changed European attitudes regarding race, is not to depict the Cape as the passive recipient of metropolitan-derived ideas.[3] There was a substantial 'feedback' from the colonies. The fact that Kipling produced most of his work while based on the periphery is but one illustration of the existence of the reciprocal relationships underlying this imperialism. Furthermore, as Stanley Trapido has shown, liberalism in the Cape can only be adequately conceptualized and understood by uncovering the changing 'conjugation of group interests (which) made it possible for liberal policies to be propagated'.[4]

Shifts in the policies and practices of missions societies in South Africa (the Cape in particular) - part of a world-wide re-adjustment of attitudes in mission circles[5] - were bound up with the changing conceptions of Cape liberalism. The missions, some of which during the first half of the 19th century were protaganists of a policy of formal non-racial equality, were by the end of the century keenly interested in industrial education and concerned with inculcating 'habits of industry'. By the 1880s the influential mission and

educational institute of Lovedale was pursuing a policy which emphasized that 'African educational efforts should be directed towards the general uplift of the race, rather than upon the education of a restricted number of elites and their full assimilation into colonial society'.[6]

The completion of the conquest of African societies and the task of incorporating and administrating these areas led 'to a study of the means of "liberal and fair and just" administration of Africans who would not be incorporated on equal terms in the common society'.[7] Cape policy towards tribalism shifted during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the influential 1883 Commission on Laws and Customs stressed both the anthropological value as well as the administrative utility of tribal laws and institutions.

Cape liberals responded to demands by the mines and farms for African labour,[8] though there was opposition to the practices of these employers - especially the farmers.[9] The general acceptance by liberals of the tenure provisions of the Glen Grey Act meant that Cape practice resembled that of the rest of the Union in refusing to allow the accumulation of land by individual Africans and in insisting on the principle of 'one man one lot'.[10] Indeed, as Marian Lacey has recently argued, the Glen Grey system was the cornerstone of 20th century segregationism.[11] And, significantly, R W Rose-Innes appears to have been the first person in South Africa to use the term 'segregation' to connote territorial separation along the lines of race.[12]

For Cape liberals, Bundy maintains, the solution of the 'labour questions' lay not in Rhodes' coercive labour tax or the Transvaal's 'apprentice' system, but in the 'controlled proletarianization that was to take place in reserves'.[13] As R W Rose-Innes phrased it in his written evidence to the 1903-5 South African Native Commission (SANAC):

> If we remit a tax when labour is given, and tax heavily when it is not given, the labour is not free. The principle is bad at the root. The labour tax was resented by those who know the Native best.... It proved a dead letter and has remained so. It is the one part of the Glen Grey Act not in operation. Why? For one thing, we had enough good feeling to be ashamed of it, and, strange to say, there were few, if any, liable to pay it. This may be true, and proof of the statement will be found in the reports of the Magistrates.... We cannot expect the Native to love work for work's sake; to be glad to leave his wife, his home, and his family for months together to seek employment amid uncongenial and often insanitary surroundings. We must have patience and be tolerant and allow the natural forces of supply and demand to improve the position gradually. Our urgent needs and requirements, and the demands of the unworked gold mines and other industries have their due weight and importance, but they are not paramount to considerations of right and justice.[14]

Although support for the Glen Grey system and a concern with benevolent 'native administration' had become part of the Cape liberal 'tradition' by the end of the century, the franchise, at least on the level of rhetoric, still remained a defining characteristic. In fact, as Trapido points out, support for the franchise was heightened after the breakup of the alliance between the Afrikaner Bond and the English majority in the wake of the Jameson Raid.[15] And Paul Rich argues that the major shift within late 19th century Cape liberal ideology was 'the emergence of an ideology of assimilation of an African class of Kolwa ...in response to the decline of the earlier ideology of incorporation of individuals as opposed to classes'.[16]

Part of the difficulty in tracing both the decline and persistence of Cape

liberalism after Union is due to its multi-faceted nature: it is not sO much a unitary phenomenon as a changing set of interacting practices and discourses. Trapido's distinction between 'great' and 'small ' traditions of liberalism in the Cape is helpful here. Based mainly in Cape Town, liberals of the great tradition were drawn from the leading financial and commercial enterprises, the government opposition of the day, Christian missionaries and the major newspapers of the colony. The small tradition which functioned as both the underpinning and as the 'microcosm' of the great tradition, was centred on the eastern Cape and involved alliances of interest between merchants, missionaries, administrators and lawyers on the one hand and an African peasantry on the other.

The advent of Union saw substantial changes in the social relationships in the constituencies: the reduced electoral strength of African voters; the decline of the African peasantry (hastened by extra-economic coercion and the expansion of white capitalist agriculture) and a corresponding drop in the prosperity of local merchants. Although Cape liberals were prominent in the post-Union Native Affairs Department for a decade or so, 'native administration' had become more centralized and the moral paternalism of progressive administrators had been circumscribed. Re-calling a trip to the Cape in 1920, W M Macmillan states:

> I soon discovered that the Native Affairs officials I was particularly concerned to consult had very good reasons to welcOme any opportunity of talking their 'shop' to an impartial outsider. Even in those early days South African governments were concerned to keep a tight rein on native affairs - their Native Affairs Department was very definitely subordinate to the Department of Justice and its rulers.. On this tour I could indeed see for myself, besides learning in Umtata from the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, R T Welsh, how his authority was checked and countered by the Ministry of Justice and the independent enforcement of Union demands by the police. The transfer of control from Cape Town to Pretoria meant that the very mild liberalism of Cape Town which had been responsible for t better features of the Transkei was frowned upon.[17]

On one level, the process Macmillan describes above represents a change from a society whose modes of control were based quite extensiVely on paternalism and personal ties to one which was bureaucratized,albeit incompletely. Such a change, it could be argued,was already observable in the Cape during the late 19th century. For instance, Kimberley's development into an industrial town and the entrenchment of the compound system saw a partial bureaucratization of the personal philanthropic relationship in the appointment of a state official, a 'protector of Natives' to look after the 'welfare' of the Africans in the compounds. Yet the attenuation and severing of liberal practices in the Cape (especially those of an official or semi-official nature) by the geo-political reshaping of southern Africa should not be underestimated. The resultant nation state led to a unification of administrative apparatuses and a re-siting of 'vectors of power'.

Bearing in mind that the distinction between thought and practice is usually blurred, Cape liberal thought was perhaps the more persistent in post-Union times in the sense that such ideas and theoretical pronouncements were often recorded, and even if residual or half-remembered in later years, they could be recalled. Cape liberal thought was not altogether unproductive in the post-Union years. A Fabian-informed 'variant', which has been overlooked by historians, was propagated by a small group of Cape Town intellectuals who found an outlet for their views in the Quaker directed publications the South African Friend and South African Quarterly.

Also neglected by historians is a metropolitan intervention with the implicit aim of finding a scientific basis for a comprehensive liberal 'native policy' appropriate to a future unified South Africa. The South African Native Races Committee (SANRAC) was formed at the end of 1899 with an essentially London-based executive[18] and an extensiVe list of south African correspondents.[19] The numerical dominance of Cape representatives was an index of the weight given to Cape liberal views.

Given the Committees connections with London intellectual life, it is not surprising to find associated positivist and Fabian strains in its objectives. SANRAC originated in

> ...the desire of a few persons who had long been interested in the welfare of the natives of South Africa to collect accurate information with regard to their social and economic condition.

The Committee hoped that their work

> ..undertaken to support no particular set of opinions, may prove of service in removing misconceptions and stimulating further inquiry and that some of the suggestions which they make may be thought worthy of the consideration of the Imperial and Colonial Governments.[20]

In addition to the Fabian notion of permeation (intellectuals influencing the highest echelons of government) the Committee credited opinion with considerable force - a further Fabian idea embodied in the maxim 'measurement and publicity'. SANRAC thus stressed the importance of 'the publication of accurate information to educate public opinion and weaken prejudices of race'.[21]

The Committee's first Report was published in book form. W H Alexander, a member of the Quaker South African Relief Fund, found it a 'a store house of information' which left 'the impression that more is already being done than one had grasped'.[22] Milner considered SANRAC a @ore moderate body than the Aborigines' Protection Society who were criticizing his administration for its complacency towards forced labour in the Transvaal.

> ..it is a complete mistake to think that the Imperial authorities cannot do their duty by the natives without coming into conflict with colonial sentiment, always provided that they bear in mind that they have also a duty to the whites. The best colonial sentiment in this matter is not far removed from the best home sentiment, as represented for instance by temperate and reasonable advocates of native rights, such as the contributors to the collection of valuable and well-informed essays, recently published by the 'Native Races Committee'.[23]

Early chapters of the report dealt with 'anthropological ' topics and acknowledged their debt to the 1883 Commission on Native Laws and Customs. Education, the franchise and 'native administration' were also discussed but land and labour were the dominant issues.

The Committee tended to apply a free market model in their analyses and recommendations. Compulsory measures to increase the supply of labour were opposed, the pass laws criticized as 'an anachronism and vexatious'. Similarly, the compounds of the diamond fields, at best, could only be a 'temporary expedient'.[24]

A belief in the social efficacy of market forces was qualified by the Committee's stated concern for African family life.

> It would be unfortunate if the breaking up of tribal organisations and the free movement of natives in search of work was to create large mass of men without local or family ties.[25]

The Committee thus cautioned against 'any abrupt interference with communal tenure' despite the enthusiasm of many SANRAC correspondents regarding the advantages of individual tenure (usually of the Glen Grey type). It noted the small size of the allotments of the Glen Grey Act and that 'no one is allowed more than one allotment'.

> Sooner or later this restriction must affect the family life of the natives. It remains to be seen what effect it has upon the marriage of sons, or the treatment of members of the family returning from perhaps long absence at the mines, or the provision of poor or infirm relatives.[26]

Here was an early recognition that reserves could facilitate control of Africans through the sanctions operating within 'tribal' and family life, and bear the social welfare costs of a migrant labour force.

There was no reference to notions of 'territorial separation' or 'segregation of the races'. However, in a letter to the General Secretary, the Committee suggested an investigation of

> The advisability of setting aside large areas (such as the whole or part of the Zoutpansberg district and Swaziland) to be administered for the exclUsiVe use and benefit of the native tribes.
>
> and
>
> The conditions of existing native locations and reserves, the terms upon which lands are secured to the natives, and the need and method of providing further lands for the surplus population.[27]

Surplus population was a recurring phrase in the report and probably reflected the English experience of industrialization. A partial remedy was to improve agricultural methods and hence land Use. Such improvement was linked to the revamping of African education:

> Probably one of the most urgent reforms in South Africa is the establishment of a free and if found to be practicable, a compulsory system of native education on lines adapted to an agricultural people. In particular there is a great opening for more technical education.[28]

Despite this stress on industrial education the Committee registered its concern with the assumption of a number of its correspondents that the natives are to be prepared by education only for a life of toil useful to whites'.[29]

On the subject of the franchise SANRAC did not

> ...feel competent, in the face of the diversity of local opinion of the subject, to suggest any scheme of franchise for the colonies, but, to be satisfactory, it should provide a manifestly genuine representation of the native and coloured population.[30]

The report contained no reference to charitable and social work among blacks. Possibly it was felt that with the possession of the vote (albeit qualified) blacks in a future South Africa would have access to State welfare. Perhaps the Committee did not think such a provision necessary at the time believing that the costs of social reproduction would still be borne by the family system in the rural and reserve areas.

There was a marked confidence in SANRAC's recommendation in official action to maintain 'the welfare of the natives'. They suggested the establishment of state-run labour bureau' for the Organization of the labour supply and the protection of natives'[31] and urged 'that at industrial centres there should be one or more officials charged with duties corresponding to those of the Protector of Natives at Kimberley'.[32]. It was also advised that an 'independent Native Department... presided over by officials of experience and ability' be set up in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, so that 'the interests of the natives' would not be neglected.[33]

Of even greater importance than legislative measures, the Committee looked forward to 'the introduction and growth of new ideas as to the natives'.[34] More specially, it urged

> The creation in South Africa of societies or agencies, not so much to air grievances as to promote the welfare of the natives, to keep alive the sense of common interests, to weaken the sense of repulsion, to speak together of things which lie apart from politics but are vital to the Commonwealth/of South Africa/, seems desirable; and this committee would greatly aid in forming such organisations.[35]

The records of SANRAC have yet to be found, and two books - the 1901 Report and a 1908 Supplement[37]3 - are virtually the only evidence of the Committee's activities during the 1900s. In its emphasis on the need for a scientific study of 'native affairs' in south Africa, and the need to enlist enlightened settler opinion in the 'solution' of the 'Native Question' it moved away from the more traditional humanitarian aims of the APS, and anticipated the formation of the 1903-5 South African Native Affairs Commission and the establishment of 'native affairs' sOcieties in Durban and Johannesburg.

The Report of the 1903-5 South African Native Affairs Commission represented an attempt by the Milner administration to formulate 'a uniform native policy' for a future unified South Africa. Land,labour, the franchise and urban policy were all covered by SANAC which has been describe as 'one of the most far-reaching schemes of social engineering'.[38]

In an influential phrase,[39] SANAC depicted the Cape African voters as 'the merest fringe of the impending mass' and recommended 'separate voting by Native electors only for a fixed number of Members to represent them in the Legislatures of the country'.[40]4 For Lacey this recommendation was very much within the realm of 'Cape traditions and practice'. She contends that the Commission 'wanted the bogey of the African vote to be as real as they could make it' in order to serve 'the imperial need for a mass wage labour force'.[41]

Urban locations which were referred to only **en passant** in the SANRAC report constituted at least a separate issue with SANAC. The report said little of note regarding the influx of Africans into the cities but did give one of the earliest warnings regarding conditions in urban locations, remarking **inter alia** that

> The Natives who reside in or frequent these locations are in the main working people. As such there is every reason why they should be encouraged to stay as useful members of the community. The tendency of inadequate accommodation is to make them dissatisfied and restless; the standard of comfort is low and they are liable to be over-crowded and over-charged.[42]

An improvement in facilities and the extension of surveillance went hand in hand. Regular inspection by the state of these locations was recommended. Also,

> A thorough registration and constant control by means of resident superintendents should be maintained for the purpose of the better regulation of town locations by which the respectable and industrious Natives may be encouraged, and no room allowed for criminals and others who indulge in vagrancy, drink and open prostitution.[43]

Implicitly then, those Africans defined as idle, dissolute, or criminal 'belonged' in African reserves.

Although, the SANAC Report was somewhat vague regarding the potential role of reserves, it clearly supported their 'preservation'. It proposed the demarcation of the area of African reserves and the prohibition by law of African purchasing outside that area.It also recommended vigorous action to expel African squatters from white farms.

There is some disagreement among historians regarding the background of the SANAC proposals on land. Marian Lacey contends that 'the far-reaching significance of the Glen Grey system and Rhodes conception of a future "native policy" was fully appreciated by the SANAC Commissioners'.[44] The Glen Grey system had proved the most efficient of the various methods designed to perpetuate migrant labour and was compatible with a policy of maintaining reserves. It should be noted, however, that the Glen Grey individual allotments were not the same as communal tenure in the reserves and were resented by Natal precisely because they raised the possibility of freehold.

Legassick, however, argues that it was the activities of the Milner administration during reconstruction which saw the guidelines of20th century segregation policies being set out 'both in relation to the town and countryside[45] Both he and Marks and Trapido stress the partnership between Rand-based intellectuals such as Howard Pim and certain of Milner's advisers (Lionel Curtis especially) as central to the formulation of policies appropriate to a future unified South Africa. 'The utility of a policy', Marks and Trapido declare, 'which would maintain the "reserves" in order to subsidize the cost of h@producing a migrant labour force was beginning to be appreciated both in official circles and in the intellectual groups which had evolved around some of Milner's advisers'. And Legassick writes : 'The ideological assumptions which informed the making of racial policy from the time of the Natives Land Act of 1913 were in essence in the Pim-Lagden-Curtis tradition, elaborated by writers like Maurice Evans, and, later,Edgar Brookes'.[46]

Pim's 1905 address to the British AssociatiOn for the Advancement of Science, constitutes one of the cornerstones of this argument.It is seen as the earliest coherent outline, emerging from those intellectuals liaising with Milner's advisers, of the potential role reserves could perform in subsidizing and sustaining the reproduction of a migrant labour force.

> ...let us assume... that the white man does turn the native out of one

> or more of his reserves... the native must live somewhere. We will suppose that he is moved into locations attached to the large industrial centres - a theory of native management which receives much support.... In the location he is more closely huddled together than he would be in his own country, and finds himself in surroundings in which his native customs have no place and he is compelled to purchase from the white man the food which in his own country he raised for himself. What the white man gains, therefore, is a little more than the labour required to pay for the food under natural conditions the native raised for himself... The white man has not yet shown that in South Africa his cultivation of the simple crops which the native requires can compete with native cultivation....
>
> For a time the location consists of able bodied people, but they grow older, they become ill, they become disabled - who is to support them? They commit offences - Who is to control them? The reserve is a sanatorium. Where they can recruit, if they are disabled they remain there. Their own tribal system keeps them under discipline, and if they become criminals there is not the slightest difficulty in bringing them to justice.... As time goes on the$e location burdens will increase and the proportion of persons in the location really able to work will still further diminish ... it is a fair assumption that at the outside one-fifth of the location population... is able to h@rk. This means that the wages paid by the employers have to be sufficient to support four other persons besides the workman.[47]

Yet, Pim's views were largely prefigured by those of R I Rose-Innes in his written evidence to SANAC:

> The principles of the Act necessarily involve the creation of purely Native reserves or areas from which Europeans are excluded by purchase or otherwise. This principle must be maintained against every species of opposition. That it will be assailed is certain, and the supporters of it will have to maintain it in its integrity in many a stubborn fight yet to come. We shall in time be compelled to create more of such areas as reservoirs of labour and homes for these people into which the Native will be free to come and go.
>
> The segregation of the races within certain limits and under safeguards, but without compulsion, is the policy to aim at for the future. The Native must have land, and it must be in larger pieces than the squares allotted to him and upon which he builds his hut in a town location.[48]

Although Rose-Innes is less lucid regarding the control functions reserves could play, the above extract suggests that the originality of Pim's formulation has been overstressed. His emphasis on the Glen Grey system in his 1904 evidence to SANAC is further evidence of a Cape-Transvaal axis in the evolution of a theory of segregation relating to the countryside.[49] In Natal, during 1900-1909 little or nothing was produced in the way of such a theory.The emphasis of writers of a separationist bent was to call for the minimizing of white-black contact and to explore methods of administration and control. And the early writings of Maurice Evans, a prominent 'friend of the native', envisaged the creation of an African peasantry to supplement a burgeoning white capitalist agriculture - a role which would literally have had African peasants working in close proximity to white farmers.[50]

However, as M Swanson has shown, the key concepts and components of urban segregation developed in the 'Durban System' of administration in Natal

before the advent of Union.[51] There is perhaps then a danger of reduction in depicting the Rand during 1902-10 as the site for the production of an ideology of segregation. And possibly Legassick has insisted on too close a correspondence between Pim's writings and the 'imperatives' of mining capital and the Milner administration. Pim, after all, went counter to the Chamber of Mines on the Chinese labour issues Also, he was writing with a metropolitan audience in mind[52] and was surely cognizant of a growing concern in British humanitarian circles with the preservation of pre-capitalist societies and their lands.[53]

Important as his theoretical productions between 1905-8 no doubt were, it should be remembered that he had been writing on 'native affairs' for some time before, that period. In other words, his function in serving as an 'organic' intellectual for the dominant class (i.e. mine owners), should not be automatically equated with his raison d'etre as a 'friend of the native'.

Pim was prominent among an amorphous and often disparate collection of potential philanthropists or agents of liaison, and self-made intellectuals concerned with 'native affairs' who made their appearance outside of t*e Cape during the early 1900s. Their ranks contained some Cape liberals who had moved to industrial centres such as Johannesburg and Durban, and who, in a few cases,had migrated ideologically. Legassick has provisionally labelled the groups and individuals as self-styled 'friends of the natives'[54] although the origins of the term lie in the eastern Cape usage and in the APS phrase 'friend of the aborigines'. A number of these 'friends of the natives' were anything but liberals, though more distinct categories of liberals and philanthropists developed from their ranks. These developments are partly accounted for by Legassick in his outline of shifts in 'liberal' thought during the early decades of the 20th century. The 1900s saw the emergence of a (liberal) segregationism - defined in particular by Pim and elaborated by Maurice Evans in the early post-Union period - which became fairly coherent after 1917. This segregationism specifically rejected Cape liberalism, repression and total separation.[55]

These new 'friends of the native' emerged against a backdrop of an extensive public debate among whites on what was euphemistically termed the 'Native question'. American Board missionary Frederick Bridgman noted in 1901 that

> "The Native Question" is steadily coming to the front. Once the Boer is out of the way, it is the native that must be dealt with. It is the topic of discussion in private, in the press, on the platform. In general the expression of opinion has centred about the following points - (a) Some scheme whereby the native population shall be made to supply the labour so necessary to domestic comfort and so essential to commercial development. (b) The alleged impudence and worthlessness of the native. (c) Suspicion of native disloyalty and fear of 'black supremacy' (e) The assumed failure of missionary effort. We regret to note the prevalent Colonial point of view in this great race question. It is for the most part characterized by narrow mindedness not by breadth, by pagan selfishness not by Christian love.[56]

By the end of the decade the 'Native question' became more of an 'object' of enquiry and less regional in scope. Insofar as it betokened a search for a 'common native policy' and a polemical discussion of the Cape franchise, it was explicitly linked with the impending political unification of South Africa. This is underlined, for example, in the overlapping membership of native affairs' and 'Closer Union' societies. In tandem with this rather amorphous debate was a more informed debate focussed by, as well as informing, the

'native affairs societies', and conducting within the press and journals such as **The State**. This debate reinforced a process of concentration, transformation as well as construction of words and concepts for perceiving (as opposed to understanding) and categorizing African in an ostensibly scientific fashion - a kind of **discourse** in the making. There was a move away from the practice of characterizing individual African societies as races and a growing tendency to describe these societies collectively as a unitary 'race'. The intensification of the social/racial division of labour on the mines and elsewhere also contributed to a growing stress on racial demarcation. Terminology such as 'the native mind' -'the pejorative singular' to borrow Conor Cruise O'Brien's phrase - became more prevalent. Already in 1901 Bridgman was describing the 'Native question' as 'this great race question'.[57] And the self-proclaimed segregationist Fred W Bell remarked to J X Merriman:

> I do not want to raise a colour line. I want to mark out a 'race line'.[58]

After all, colour was only skin deep.

Stimulating white public interest in the 'Native question' were a series of 'moral panics' during the 1900s in which blacks or Asians loomed large as social pests or dangers. There were three basic types of popular panic - the first type relating to the notion of the African or Indian as a harbinger or carrier of contagious diseases and the second to alleged assaults by black men on white women. Thirdly, as demonstrated particularly in the Rand-based agitation against the Chinese 'yellow peril', there was a deeply felt fear about threats to 'white' jobs and socio-economic 'standards'.

Bubonic plague, which appeared in Cape Town in 1900 and which spread to other urban centres saw the establishment of urban locations for Africans, following intense agitation by whites, at Ndabeni (Cape Town) in 1902 and Klipspruit (Johannesburg) in 1904. In Durban, as M Swanson observes, the plague 'had an enormous effect on the Native question, alarming the Whites, confirming their image of African and Indian concentrations as a public health menace, and frightening the Blacks into fleeing the city in great numbers'.[59] (Interestingly, a Durban resident in 1908 found the Native question' bearing some analogy' to health.)[60]

Medical remedies, e.g. quarantine, were applied to the structuration of urban space. 'In the name of health and cleanliness',Michelle Perot remarks, 'All sorts of spatial arrangements are subjected to control'.[61] Swanson talks in terms of a sanitation syndrome which he employs to describe 'a widespread phenomenon in the colonial world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in which the metaphor of disease and infection became an almost universal currency for the conception and discussion of race questions and social policy'.[62] To cite an important South African example, a notion of cities as unnatural places for blacks where they succumbed to all forms of moral degeneracy and physical diseases was present among all shades of white opinion during, and after, the early 20th century. Moral degeneracy was not always distinguished from physical degeneracy.

Swanson does not explain why the metaphor of disease and infection was so persistent. We perhaps need to dig deeper and examine mechanisms of repression and changing conceptions of sexuality in various colonial and post-colonial societies. Also, it would probably be instructive to consider the resonances of metropolitan discourses on the poor (especially regarding the question of Public Health) and on eugenics.

Black peril agitations occurred throughout South Africa during the 1900s and were most intense in the larger towns and cities. The Natal Native Reform League was formed in Durban in late 1904 at a time of alleged assaults on White women.

The League was launched at a public mass meeting under the presidency of Dr S G Campbell, a retired Medical Officer of Health,who was a well-known sanitary reformer and an opponent of Indian immigration. Members included a number of prominent citizens such as H Ancketill, a social reformer and Durban MP, and H Richards, a timber merchant and ex-town councillor.[63]

The Native Reform League supported those officials who sought greater control of the black urban labour force. t alsO proposed prohibiting Africans from using public sidewalks.[64]6 The League was not altogether a repressive body. Certain missionaries such as F. Bridgman and Dr McCord of the American Zulu Mission attended meetings.[65] Also, there appears to have been some concern with the overcrowded slums of Durban.[66] Interestingly, some of the members, including Campbell, were later involved with the Natal Native Affairs Reform Committee which was established in late 1907.

Recent historiography on 'black peril' scares in the early 20th century has tended to emphasize the importance of economic depressions as an explanatory notion. However, the League disappeared from the press columns in early 1905 when a business depression reduced a labour shortage which seems to have been the real complaint of a number of its members.

The recurrence of moral panics during the 1900s undoubtedly contributed to the wider debate about the Native question'. The Natal Native Reform League, though short-lived and essentially repressive, was in effect the first voluntary agency specifically concerned with discussing the 'problems' presented by Africans living in towns.

Although relatively little is known about the play of the unconscious - whether individual or collective - in the outbreak of popular or moral panics, the exorcizing of 'folk devils' (in this case blacks) and the need for control by repression were among the dominant **emotional** responses engendered. A less overt and perhaps less immediate response - but equally repressive - was to demand a surveillance of the activities and movements of blacks. Segregated urban locations, for example, while symbolically serving the purpose of removing/exorcizing blacks, also facilitated a more effective means of surveillance. And surveillance can lead to a production of knowledge about those being watched. For instance, Durban magistrate James Stuart, who supported the establishment of the Natal Native Reform League and who was an articulate advocate of more stringent controls for urban Africans,[68] gained a reputation as being, in Pim's words, 'a keen student of native character and native custom'.[69]

The appearance, especially outside the Cape, of secular town-based humanitarians and 'experts' on 'native affairs' should also be placed in the context of the intellectual/cultural forms of urban society in southern Africa. Significant here is the emergence during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, of literary, philosophical and scientific and debating societies in the cities and larger towns of southern Africa. With the Western Cape probably the only region at the time adequately equipped with universities and other tertiary educational institutions, these voluntary agencies performed some of the functions of higher educational institutions. They were also key sites - especially before the establishment of 'Native Affairs' and Closer Union societies in the late 1900s - for the discussion of papers about various

aspects of the 'Native question'.

Membership was usually limited to whites which constituted an in-built constraint against 'open' discussions about the grievances and aspirations of blacks. As English was the hegemonic language at the time, Afrikaners, too, had less access to urban intellectual culture.

The importation of metropolitan intellectual mores and artifacts as well as the emigration to South Africa (either temporary or permanent) of people who had functioned as 'traditional' intellectuals in their countries of origin, may well have substituted in part for the lack of a long tradition of intellectual practice in southern Africa - at least outside the Cape Colony. Extrapolating from Gramsci's **obiter dicta** regarding categories of intellectuals in the United States and Latin American countries, one could argue that 'no vast category of traditional intellectuals' existed in South Africa. Without the extensive 'sedimentation' of intellectuals such as one finds in 'countries of ancient civilization' the relationship between intellectual practice and the work of production is generally more direct.[70] For example, the establishment and development of higher educational institutions on the Rand was largely underwritten by mining capital. Also, businessmen were prominent in the turn-of-the century cultural and scientific societies. And in this category were Pim and Maurice Evans.[71]

This is not to say that those writing about native affairs were necessarily 'organic intellectuals' - 'the thinking and organising element of a particular fundamental class'[72] - even given that the theoretical productions of Rose-Innes, Pim, Evans and others informed the making of post-Union 'native policy'. In 1904, for example, Pim was still an advocate of the extensive use of white rather than black labour. Evans' earlier writings supporting the maintenance of an African peasantry also present a problem. It has been argued that the ultimate control of the political economy of Natal at the turn of the century was shifting from those local and British interests 'with a stake in the continued capacity of Natal Africans to earn an independent income' - the rentiers -to 'the burgeoning class of commercial farmers and its allies'.[73] On a simple level at least it would seem that Evans, a Durban merchant, falls between these two classes.

Part of the problem in defining/identifying organic intellectuals lies with the complexities of class formation in South Africa, in particular the tension between an essentially metropolitan based bourgeoisie and an emergent national bourgeoisie - a tension which is not adequately conceptualized by use of the notion of class fractions. Also, it should be borne in mind that during the early decades of the 20th century there was less specialization of function in South African 'intellectual culture'. In other words it was possible for people such as Pim and Evans to function as both organic and non-organic intellectuals. This relates to Poulantzas' argument that class is not a group or monolithic entity, but expresses structural relations constituting a social formation as a whole.

Among the reasons for participation in these cultural and societies, as well as for a self-conscious altruistic interest in blacks, was an attitude of 'civic mindednesses'. This is revealed in the activities of 'friends of the native' such as W Hosken, for a while president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Pim, and Evans. Pim and Hosken were both members of the Johannesburg Town Council and Hosken later became a Transvaal MP. Evans was a Natal parliamentarian prior to Union.

The establishment of 'Native Affairs' societies in Johannesburg and Durban

represented, on the level of the restructuring of institutions, a specialization of function in relation to the older cultural and scientific societies. 'Native affairs' was now the sole 'area' being questioned rather than a variety of social and philosophical phenomena. Some of these 'learned' associations also contributed personnel to the newer 'Native Affairs' societies.

The Natal Native Affairs Reform Committee, which preceded its Johannesburg counterpart by a few months, was formed at a public meeting in Durban on 21 November 1907. Its **raison d'etre** as Bridgman saw it was

> " to educate and organise public opinion with a view to securing more enlightened legislation bearing upon the natives. The recent Natal Native Affairs Commission Report is to be the basis of discussion and agitation.[74]

The Committee, as Bridgman described it, consisted of many 'leading professional and businessmen of the town'.[75] The first executive included Bridgman; Maurice Evans; J H Nicholson (one of the founders of the South African Institute of Race Relations); and the Revs. F Gregson, J Gould and J G Aldridge. Among the members of the Committee, which numbered over 50 and soon increased two-fold, were Dr S G Campbell and Sir David Hunter.

The Committee was to meet monthly and public meeting were to be organized from time to time to discuss 'definite phases of native affairs or administration, when the holding of such meetings may be deemed more effective in promoting the aims of the Committee'. Provision was made for appointment of sub-committees 'to obtain full information on any special matters connected with native affairs'.[76]

In the Committee's opinion there 'was little use blaming the Government; the public opinion wanted rousing first of all'. This view influenced the envisaged structure of the organization. Although the creation of branches of the NARC in other parts of Natal was not considered practicable it was decided to establish links with 'representative men in every district' who were sympathetic with the aims of the Committee. Church guilds and kindred societies were to be invited to interest their members in the Committee's activities and to discuss 'native affairs' at least once per session. In addition the support of all teachers (both secular and Sunday school) was to be sought 'to secure their influence in the inculcation of a deeper sense of responsibility in the European children and youth of the Colony in their attitude to the native'.Although resembling the Fabian Society in its emphasis on the educability of (white) public opinion, the Committee's theoretical standpoint was less defined. As the first chairperson, A E Green, remarked the Committee 'had to educate itself'. He expected 'no uniformity of opinion' as to methods; 'indeed diverse views regarding these would be welcome as they were inevitable'. However, on the issue of 'the predominance of the white race' there would be no compromise. Indeed, it was felt this predominance 'would be strengthened by just methods of government'.[77]

Legassick suggests that voluntary associations such as the early 'Native Affairs' societies of Durban and Johannesburg 'were intended to draw the local white community into informal agencies of social control, and thereby replace the administrative and financial role played by foreign mission societies'.[78] The Committee's emphasis on 'just methods of government could be construed as a concern with social control. However, by virtue of its exclusion of potential black members the Committee's effectiveness as an apparatus of direct social control would seem to have been severely limited. To suggest an alternative conceptualization of the NARC's function on the most abstract or struc-

tural level, one could depict it as one of the organs of the surveillance of one class over the emergent African popular classes and petite bourgeoisie.

Quite hOW the NARC replaces 'the administrative and financial role' of foreign missions, is unclear. Part of the significance of the early 'Native Affairs' societies is that they were **urban** constructions - most mission activity was still carried out in the countryside. It should be noted, however, that certain personnel of the American Board of Missions, (ABM) were beginning to see the importance of the towns and to participate in the NARC.

Although the NARC undertook little or no urban philanthropic work in its early years, Walshe is somewhat off target in describing it as a discussion group 'concerned essentially with segregation and the Natal tradition of Native policy' and has his facts wrong in dating its genesis to 1912.[79] For one, there was a pronounced concern with educating whites about the necessity of improving 'race relations'. sir Matthew Nathan, Governor of Natal, noted that 'public opinion in this colony is certainly more active than it has been before to the necessity of dealing generously with the Natives'[80] A 1911 description by an American Board missionary stressed the Committee's educative function:

> This body of 123 leading men of all professions in Durban is attempting to do in a small scale for the native problem what the Lake Mohonk Conference does on so large a scale for race problems in the United States.[81]

Although Natal native policy received a good deal of discussion, African political representation in a future South Africa also figured prominently during 1908-9. Only after Union, when the Committee became more identified with Maurice Evans, was segregation extensively discussed (and this was by no means the Committee's primary function after 1912). General meetings of NARC in its earlier years were handled along the lines of a debating society which allowed for a considerable diversity of views, ranging from those who questioned the ability of Africans to progress to the Cape liberal views of J M Orpen and several missionaries.

Contemporary Anglo-American writing on eugenics appears to have had less influence - at least prior to Union - on members of NARC than on its Transvaal counterpart. There was less emphasis on the absolute 'racial difference' between white and black. For example,the most reactionary remark in a reported discussion of the position of Africans in an unified South Africa conceded the possibility of evolutionary progress for Africans:

> Dr McKenzie remarked that there was a great deal of misconception with regard to natives and the franchise. Associated with total ignorance and barbarism as he was, the native was incapable of a proper exercise of the franchise, and it would be folly to place it in his hands. What the native wanted before the franchise was just treatment and fair government, and when they had given him that for the next fifty or sixty years, and educated and Christianized him, he might come able to cast a vote with judgment and wisdom.

This is not to say that the Durban society was any more 'progressive' than the Johannesburg body; rather it would appear that NARC right-wing elements had a less coherent ideological position.

The Committee functioned on occasions as a humanitarian pressure group. Its first brief was to prevent the encroachment by white farmers on a small Afri-

can settlement at Impapala. The Natal Government was requested to either confirm the inhabitants tenure or to grant 'adequate compensation at the earliest possible date'.[83] There is however no indication in press reports of NARC meetings where the Committee was successful in its plea. The Committee also opposed Part II of Act No. 1 of 1909 'to provide for the Better Administration of Native Affairs'.[84] Furthermore, the Committee cooperated with the Durban and Pietermaritzburg Church Council in sending a joint deputation to see the premier of Natal to attempt to ameliorate a legislative measure prohibiting the placing of an African preacher or chapel on locations unless there was a resident white missionary in the vicinity. This legislation constituted a major concern for missionaries, 'friends of the missionaries' and the African **kholwa**, and temporarily smoothed over denominational tensions. Bridgman, the coordinator of the protest wrote:

> We shall bring further pressure to bear, and at last our English brethren have come to the point of declaring that if necessary they will not stop short of public agitation in England.[85]

But it was the advent of Union rather than pressure on the Natal Ministry which saw the relaxation of this measure. The NARC continued to operate as an informal pressure group after Union. In1912, for example, it criticized the Native Land Bill on the grounds that it sanctioned forced labour.

There is no reference in the records of the Native Affairs Society of the Transvaal (NAST) to possible Natal influence in the creation of the Society. The organization's immediate origins lie in a meeting convened by David Pollock (a leading Johannesburg lawyer) on 7 January 1908 'in connection with the movement to found a society for the purposes of studying the Native Question and of advocating a liberal Native Policy'.[86]

Pollock was the first secretary and treasurer of the Society and Pim the president. Committee members included insurance salesman F W Bell; Drs Ross and Napier; and the MPs W Hosken, J W Quinn and W Wyberg (the latter two being labour leaders). There were three churchpeople on the committee: Archdeacon Michael Furse and L Carter, the Bishop of Pretoria, and the Methodist Missionary Rev Amos Burnet. Mrs Napier was the only woman committee member.

On 31 December 1908 the membership of the Society stood at 109Members included H M Taberer; then acting secretary of Native Affairs in the Transvaal; S M Pritchard director of the Native Labour Bureau; HSL Polak a lawyer and supporter of Gandhi; Rev C Phillips a veteran missionary, and Vere Stent of the **Pretoria News.**

Like the NARC, the Transvaal body attempted to cater for 'as wide a range of opinion as possible among serious and earnest students of the Native question'.[87] Yet it was this attempt to cater for a diversity of white opinion which saw conservative and reactionary elements defeat a motion at the first general meeting to include blacks in the society.[88] At the second meeting future committee member A W Baker

> "suggested that though natives were debarred from membership, some provision should be made by which free expression of opinion should be secured from enlightened natives. In order to ascertain that, he moved that the formation of native societies on similar lines should be encouraged. A very great deal would be gained if they made the natives feel that the whites desired to know their opinion. Such a step would help to win the confidence of the natives...[89]

After 'some discussion' Baker withdrew his proposal. As one of its formal principles the NAST declared itself 'in favour of native opinion being consulted in matters affecting their own government'.However, it was stressed that 'the supreme voice in all matters of government and administration must rest with the white community'.[90]

Soon after its inception the Society was asked by the Transvaal government to comment on the Occupation of Lands by Natives Bill and the Natives Tax Bill. The Committee had little to say about the Tax Bill regarding the proposed measure 'as of a purely administrative nature'.

In a debate at the end of May 1908 an amendment in favour of the Land Bill by right-wing or 'repressionist' elements led by Quinn and Bell was defeated.[92] The 'repressionists' by and large represented white petty bourgeoisie and working class strata and articulated their fears of economic competition from blacks. The humanitarian wing of the NAST, in which Hosken, Pollock and Baker were prominent, had direct links with rentier interests. This is illustrated by the strong parallels between the respective criticisms if the Land Bill by the NAST Committee and the Transvaal Landowners' Association.[93]

The Committee considered the measure 'unjust to the natives' and smacking of forced labour. It was also 'impracticable' as there was no provision for additional locations which would lead to a situation where 'a large number of homeless natives would be thrown on the Government's hands'. In addition, it was advised that urban Africans be given representation 'on the Health Boards, or other bodies, which may be in instituted for the administration and control of native townships. This statement constituted an early formulation of liberal arguments of the 1920s and 1930s regarding the need to incorporate urban Africans in systems of social control.

The Land Bill consumed much of the Society's time during 1908. Other activities included the sending of a delegate, A W Baker, to the Inter-State Native College Conference and an investigation of mortality rates among black mineworkers. Yet the NAST never evolved into a fully-fledged humanitarian or 'native welfare' body. This was partly due to the note of urgency which pervaded the franchise issue following the commencement of the National Convention in October 1908. As Pim observed in 1909:

> Owing to the importance which has been given to the franchise question, the attitude of individuals towards it has become indicative of their general attitude toward the native population, and indeed it may be said to be the touchstones by which the native policy of the country generally can be tested.[84]

Political representation for blacks in a united South Africa figured prominently, particularly during 1909, in the meetings NAST, and in joint conferences with the 'Closer Union' movement[96] The debate intensified rifts with the Society. In April 1909 Pollock and Bell presented joint papers on Lord Selborne's well publicized Cape Town address. Pollock criticized the view that the political rights would be safeguarded by a two-thirds majority in the Union Parliament. Rather the Cape franchise should be made inalienable. He also questioned the exclusion of 'civilized natives' outside the Cape, from the franchise.[97] Bell on the other hand recommended that the Society

> " should take our stand on firmer ground - that of basic principles - and while providing for adequate and proper representation along lines suited to his nature and environment, deny the native absolutely, whether civilized or not, participation in the white man's democratic fran-

> chise, not, **ipso facto**, because of his black skin, but because his black skin with other inherent evidences connotes not only his lower origin, but, in the light of history and experience, a congenital incapacity to evolve to the standard of the Caucasian.

In the discussion of the two papers a certain Mr Lane 'delivered a rousing anti-native speech, which met with a friendly reception'.[98] At the follow-up debate at the next meeting Hosken proposed a resolution in favour of a qualified franchise for Africans. Bell and others protested that this was **ultra vires** in view of the declared aims of the NAST.[99] The discussion was adjourned and, it appears, never resumed. Bell irately circulated his opinion 'that the Society to my mind, like its energetic secretary, Mr David Pollock, appears to have strong leanings towards negrophilist views'. And Pim, he implied, as chairperson, had been too protective towards Pollock and Hosken.[100]

The election of Bell to the presidency of the Society in early 1910 may well have been a conciliatory move. There was3 however, a growing self-confidence among the 'repressionists' and declining attendance especially among the more liberal-minded members. Bell's increased status within the Society owed something to his assiduous cultivation of local and overseas contacts, including the eugenicists R W Schufeldt, Washington-based author of **The Negro In America** and **Studies of the Human Form**, and A H Keane , former vice-president of the Royal Anthropological Society. The writings of these two men - in essence a virulent biological racism - gave a veneer of scientific respectability to Bell's views on race which coupled a vulgarized Darwin evolutionism with a theory of reincarnation to asset the perpetual inferiority of 'black' races. 'Is it not possible', he rhetorically asked Olive Schreiner

> " that in the great evolutionary scheme of which we form part that different races of mankind have been ordained by Nature to be classes... through which souls in various stages of development should learn the lessons that each can teach?[101]

The Bell-Keane-Schufeldt connection reinforced a tendency to interpret the social position and oppression of American blacks as constituting a 'warning' to white South Africans. Bell wrote to Smuts in 1909 suggesting

> A thorough investigation and review of the Negro question in the U.S.A., with deductions and conclusions to be drawn therefore, and all available information which would bear on our black and white problems, which would prove invaluable to us, for evidence in South Africa. ...Not only would such evidence as could be collected be of service for legislative purposes, but if it could be shown that the mistakes made in America, in consequence of erroneous ideas regarding 'the equality of man' ...would prove inimical to the dominant race...[102]

Keane, appointed honorary vice-president of NAST in early 1910, spent part of 1909 in South Africa during which time he actively propagated the notion that the South African 'Bantu' and American Negroes had similar 'characteristics'.

The NAST right-wing was not bound by monolithic ideological consensus. A few 'repressionists' appear to have advocated a complete partition of Southern Africa on a racial basis. (i.e. absolute **residential** segregation). The majority, however, stopped short of absolute racial partitioning and a refusal to use any African labour. Bell's segregationism though underpinned by extensive 'biological' arguments, differed only from the plans of some of the moderate NAST members in the degree of protection allocated to white labour

and white petty bourgeois trading interests. Bell also maintained that some political representation should be granted to coloureds outside the Cape.

It is Bell and Wybergh, rather than Pim, who were associated with the development of the idea of segregation. Bell later contended that he 'might claim to have done more than anyone in South Africa to have brought forward and familiarized people with the general idea of "segregation".[103]

Pollock explicitly attacked what he termed 'the engaging heresy of segregation'. It was based

> " on a fundamental misconception which ignores the existence of a virile ineffaceable race numbering millions, on whose unskilled labour South African industries always have been and always will be dependent. It is essentially an attempt to make South African economic conditions square with the mistaken ideals of our friends the white labour party.[104]

The extent to which Pollock and the other prominent NAST liberals, Baker and Hosken, accepted 'possessory segregation' is difficult to ascertain. Their writings and pronouncements concentrated on the importance of securing civil liberties for 'educated' or 'civilised' blacks. They took as their touchstone Selborne's Cape Town address:

> It makes liberal provision for all classes of natives and Coloured people, whether living in ignorance under the ancient sway of the tribal chiefs, or under conditions of modern civilisation. Machinery is there for gradual evolution from the bottom upwards. Over all there is to be a strong department of native affairs. For the uncivilised, there are the Native Councils in which full freedom of speech is conceded, but no Executive or Legislative functions. For the higher class who have broken the bonds of tribal custom, and placed themselves within the pale of white civilisation, provision is made by which under sufficient tests they may obtain recognition as civilized men, with the concurrent right to share in the government of the country.[105]

The NAST liberals probably did not appreciate the disjunction between Selborne's rhetoric and his private views. Nevertheless, even in the writings of Pollock, possibly the most progressive of the NAST liberals, one finds a tacit acceptance of certain segregationist notions.

The NAST liberals were more than appendages of Cape liberalism. They were part of a strain of thought identified by contemporaries as 'fusionist' or assimilationist' which persisted in a small way on the Rand during the years after Union. Pim's association with this informal group during 1908-10 probably contributed to the shift in his thought which occurred around 1909. By then he had become more responsive to the aspirations of an emerging urban African petty bourgeoisie. tn that year he recommended the granting of a qualified franchise to Africans:

> By granting the franchise to the few 'educated natives' who desire it, and among whom will certainly be found those of the greatest capacity and enterprise, we shall draw no colour line and when they have satisfied a test which will show them to be competent to live as members of the white community they will not find their race any bar to their advancement.[106]

The NAST formally ceased its activities on 12 July 1912 although it was already moribund by the end of 1910. The demise of the Society cannot only be

ascribed to a right-left polarization. A relative decline in interest in the Native question with the advent of Union, a tendency of those members representing white petty bourgeois and working class interests to seek their destinies in the South African labour Party, as well as a shortage of funds, were among the immediate causes of the NAST's disintegration.

The NAST and NARC were the first secular bodies to attempt to influence whites regarding the formulation and implementation of a 'liberal native policy' for South African Missionaries and clergy though fairly well represented, were not, with the exception of Bridgman and Phillips, particularly prominent. The structures and inner workings of the societies had more in common with voluntary urban associations dealing with the production of secular knowledge than with traditional missionary concerns.

Suspicion of or hostility towards mission work among Africans particularly in the realm of education - was a recurrent sentiment in the proceedings of the NAST and may well have inhibited the forging of closer institutional links between urban missionaries and certain secular 'friends of the natives'. The right-wing members of the NARC seem to have been more muted on the issue. However, the endorsement by SANAC, The Natal Native Affairs Commission of Christian education and 'Christian values' as a means of moral control helped create a somewhat more favourable climate towards mission work and perhaps encouraged secular 'friends of missionaries'.Bridgman was appreciative of the SANAC Report finding it 'far more favourable to Missions than could have been anticipated.'[107]

During the 1900's, what little active philanthropic work there was among urban blacks was essentially church-based and manifested in moves to establish hostels for Christian African women, the commencement of medical mission work and the running of small informal night schools. The construction of churches, training of African catechists and coping with Ethiopianism were the usual priorities for the Protestant churches and the majority of mission societies operating in urban centres. Nascent social work by the churches and missions was grossly under-financed and conducted on an **Ad hoc** basis. Most of these interventions were directed along lines of moral control and still bore the mark of the mid-Victorian notion that religious proselytism was itself designed to ameliorate poverty, moral degeneracy and ignorance.

There was a growing awareness of the need to secure and acknowledge lay support and involvement in mission and church activities. The 1903-4 annual report of the diocese of Pretoria, commenting on the formation of a committee to advise Rand Native Missions stated that

> ...the desire of the Bishop and Clergy of the diocese to obtain all the advice and assistance they can from those most experienced in the native question, is evidenced by the formation. **It is to be hoped that more laymen will give their assistance in a similar way** (my emphasis)[108].lm1

The establishment in 1909 in Cape Town of the Women's Mission Association (later Auxiliary) of St. John the Divine was further indication of the partial secularisation of mission activities.[109] However, the Association carried out little of no actual welfare work before Union.

The underdeveloped state of philanthropic ventures in urban centres can be linked to the pervasive perception among whites of Africans as 'naturally... agricultural and pastoral people' with little or no experience of poverty - a view which persisted well in the decade after Union. Pim wrote in 1913 that

> No member of a native tribe is poor in our sense of the word. Such poverty does not exist. In a bad year or through their own improvidence tribes may be short of food. If so, they all suffer together, but once the harvest season comes round again they have all they require. The grinding poverty which necessitates toil from youth to old age they know nothing of. The work when they please, not because they must...[110]

Macmillan, reflecting on his pioneering analyses of the 'poor White' question, shows that the lack of a satisfactory critique of poverty in the early 20th century was not confined to blacks:

> It was, significantly, not native grievances or discontent, but the very genuine distress of white rural workers that first compelled attention. As early as 1908, in the reconstruction period... Mr Phillip Kerr... was the principle architect of a report on (white) Indigency in the Transvaal. It was the prevailing view that degeneracy was to be expected among people disinclined to demean themselves by doing 'Kafir' work, but blame was now fastened on the inefficiency of Boer farming methods... Till the 1920s, the African people of the Union were conveniently out of sight of their White neighbours.[111]

An under-researched aspect relating to emergence of new social reformist ideas and practices in South Africa during the early 20th century is the migration to the country of a number of English clergy, largely Anglicans, of a Christian socialist outlook. Walter Carey, Bishop of Bloemfontein in the 1920s was one of this group.

> I felt /he reminisced/ that I didn't want simply to keep free from a naughty world, I wanted to make England a paradise - a living, loving past of Christ's kingdom; and that embraced housing, slums, hours, conditions of life, holidays - everything. All had to be transformed... So I soon mentally and spiritually strayed towards Dolling and Scott Holland. It was Holland who sent me off in 1904 to South Africa to take part in the well-known Mission of Help there.[112]

Yet, until the 1920s, there is little evidence of 'crusades' by these priests in black slums. Perhaps inherited distinctions between 'English' and 'native work' in Anglican and Methodist mission work conditioned the priorities and perceptions of the newly-arrived priests and missionaries. Also, the subordinate classes of English cities were possibly more resistant to direct religious proselytism. With urban African popular culture still in a formative state, interventions from those clergy of a Christian socialist bent could still take the form of overt evangelism. It could also be argued that Christianity had a far more instrumental value for blacks.

American Board Missionaries, Frederick Bridgman in particular, first developed a coherent philanthropic response - in terms of both theory and practice - to African urbanization. Bridgman, who took charge of the Board's Durban station in 1897, managed to defuse secessionism within the ABM in Natal and to evolve a strategy of 'cooptation' of the African elite in control of Ethiopian and other independent church movements.[113] In an influential paper presented in Johannesburg to the 1904 South African General Missionary Conference (the first of such conferences) Bridgman played down the 'danger' of Ethiopianism and urged whites to take cognizance of the importance to Africans of 'education and the opportunity of self-improvement and advancement in civilisation which he craves and are his rights'.[114] He also helped extend the mission's appeal to a growing African working class in Durban.

Bridgman was Foucault's **agent d'liason** and more. Not only did he intervene in/concern himself with the lives and living conditions of urban Africans, he also acted as a mediator between the representatives of local African and the ruling elite of Durban. Moreover, he had access to the Natal Government, as is evidenced in his appointment in 1908 along with two Africans P J Gumede and Martin Luthuli to investigate the working of the Glen Grey system and its possible application in Natal. Bridgman's description of a farewell party in his honour on the eve of his departure for Johannesburg in 1913 gives an idea of the extent of his personal networks:

> There was another surprise party when in response to an innocent-looking invitation I found myself confronted by a gathering of Durban's business and professional men and town officials, including the Mayor who presided. In true British style they made me the recipient of an address embossed in an elegant album containing the autographs of the company present. This was the most unexpected recognition of the little I had been able to do in helping secure improved social conditions for Durban natives[115]

It is helpful to examine the ABM's social reformism in the Durban area in some detail,as it anticipates a series of philanthropic interventions and tactics on the Rand especially after the Great War. Although Bridgman was especially prominent in early social welfare overtures towards Africans in Durban, one should not forget that he was able to draw on the collective expertise of his wife, Clara Bridgman; Dr J McCord, a pioneer in urban medical mission work; Dr J Dexter Taylor; and Laura Bridgman, who was well known for her vocational training of African girls.

It was only after the Boer War with 'the vastly improved relations between the missions and the native pastors'[116] that Bridgman was able to turn his attention to the 'social conditions' of Durban Africans. The interest of Bridgman and certain colleagues in urban social reform relates in part to their identification with the self-conscious civic pride of white Durban residents as the result of increased capital investment in the city. This process and the heightened influx of Africans to the city were noted in the 1903 American Zulu Mission report:

> The very rapid growth of Durban and the many public improvements that are being made at great cost are causing a constantly increasing demand for labour and the native population has risen the past four years from 11 000 to 20 000.[117]

Bridgman did not develop a coherent philanthropic strategy overnight. He implicitly acknowledged this in 1905:

> the very first condition of really efficient service in Durban has not been fulfilled, namely a careful and if possible scientific study of social conditions. I have long felt that an intimate acquaintance with the life, twenty-four hours in the day, of every class of Natives in Town to be essential for effective application of the Gospel. Such knowledge should really have preceded the erection of any new building.[118]

In 1904 a dispensary under the direction of McCord was opened and treated over 4 000 cases. A night school was opened in the inner city and later supplemented by two further schools in the white suburbs. A 1904 draft plan envisaged the creation of 'a social settlement' on the mission lot including 'either a

pastors' home, a home for visiting girls, or probably reading, game and recreation rooms after the Y.M.C.A. order' and embodied a number of future aspects of 'native welfare' work.[119] The idea of setting a social centre on Y.M.C.A. lines was to finally find expression in the establishment of the Bantu Mens Social Centre in Johannesburg. Bridgman's interest in the Y.M.C.A. order was reinforced in 1907 when he visited the Far East.

> Not before had I seen the Y.M.C.A. as a factor in foreign missions ... it is a potent force in the East.[120]

Links were developed with the local Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.s with Bridgman writing that Clara 'has led a very active life working not only for natives but also for Europeans through the English Y.W.C.A.'.[121] The Bridgmans and Y.W.C.A. staff were prominent in agitation for provision of 'a safe lodging house for wayfaring girls and women'.[122]

At the end of the decade 'womens' work' among urban blacks, spearheaded by Clara Bridgman, had become an established practice. Womens' temperance and prayer meetings seem to have been the chief activities. An enthusiasm for temperance led to other forms of philanthropic intervention including

> ...some visiting of the women in their homes (if they may be called such) ... Such visiting usually means going to the dens where beer is bought and sold'.[123]

Progressive missionaries such as Bridgman, precisely because their social criticism had an analytical edge, were a species of social police in their identification and classification of certain groups of people as constituting a social 'problem'. Bridgman was among the first to comment on the appearance of **amaleiata** gangs in Durban in the 19002?. He also drew attention to a growing 'criminal class' of 'Zulu slummakers' headed by an ex-ABM convert. These groups he maintained contributed to the deterioration of the social life of urban Africans. His solution was rhetorically phrased:

> Could drink, immorality and other evils be more effectively dealt with if the town natives were segregated in municipal locations?[124]

By 1909, if not sooner, Bridgman had established himself as a **de facto** adviser to the Durban Town Council regarding the control/administration of urban blacks and migrant workers. Indeed, he was loath to attend a major missionary conference in Edinburgh for fear of missing the possible implementation by the Town Council of

> ...plans that will be revolutionary as regards the condition of the 16 000 natives within the town limits. A scheme of segregation is to the front of the country. (sic) During the past five years I have personally investigated ten of the most important town 'locations' as they are called in neighbouring colonies. Some of these locations are simply hellish, and not one of them is respectable. If Durban cannot inaugurate a model segregation scheme, I am sure it can do something far better than what has yet been accomplished.[125]

The extent of the liaison between Bridgman and the Durban municipality does not appear to have been paralleled in other major towns in South Africa, though there may well have been undocumented cases. It is all too easy to overstress the philanthropism of the Durban Town Council. Tbe 'Durban System' as Swanson has argued was an important source of urban segregation and techniques of control,not to mention money. Interestingly, the principle of

funding black housing through revenue generated by a municipal beer monopoly, which was instituted in Durban in 1909,was regarded as a philanthropic measure in certain quarters (though not by the ABM). 'Many public-spirited people' wrote Rev J Lennox a decade or later, 'are in favour of this system'.[126]

Partly because urban locations were often in the process of being built in the 1900s, there was little in the way of a critique of the appalling conditions experienced by the inhabitants. Contemporary commentaries on location conditions dwelt on the need to reproduce 'familiar restraints' - including the family and social structures of rural villages - in these years. The political and civic aspirations of an emergent African petty bourgeoisie were obliquely and selectively acknowledged in generalised phrases such as: 'to lay on the town native the responsibility for his own social order which he would have in village life'.[127] Issues such as the lack of access of African traders to commercial sites were glossed over. In short, African urbanization was not seen as an established, irreversible reality. This is not to say however that African townspeople were necessarily regarded as 'temporary sojourners'.

Although 84% of Africans were still living in rural areas in 1921, there was nevertheless a marked increase in the urban population between 1911 and 1921. The total number of urbanized Africans rose by 87,622 or 17,1%. Moreover, in the 9 principal towns of the Union, the African population was estimated to have risen from 16 to 196% during the intervening decade, or an average for the 9 towns of 61%. The percentage of African women rose considerably: their numbers were up 184% in Durban, 211% in Johannesburg and 110% in Cape Town.[128] These figures suggest the growth of a permanent African urban population, with wives and families coming to join the men in the towns.

The increase in the African urban population was perhaps most pronounced after evictions following the implementation of the 1913 Land Act and during the final stages of World War I which saw a number of demobilized servicemen opting for the towns. This increased African urbanization was also related to the significant growth of local manufacturing industry during and after the war years. And it is the increased visibility of blacks which may well have conditioned the timing and form of philanthropic ventures during 1910-1920. However, class formation amongst Whites in the towns (manifested, for example, in the growing number of middle and upper-middle class white women with leisure time) and the development of urban cultural forms were not negligible components in the construction of 'social conscience'. For instance, the increasing involvement of women in urban literary societies was a point of production of philanthropic interests:

> There is no doubt / remarked Jessie Hertslet in 1912/ that colonial men and women are growing interested in the natives. It is significant that the Durban Home Readers' Union, composed of many of the leading Durban ladies, has taken for its reading this year books dealing with the natives.[129]

There was a perceptible widening of the field of 'womens' work' in the years immediately after Union. One of the most significant developments in this respect was the 'Inhlangano Yabondhlayo'(IYO) which was begun in rural Natal in 1912. The IYO or Mothercraft League as it was later known was described by its founding committee as 'a league for teaching native women their responsibilities as mothers'.[130] Jessie Hertslet, whose husband Lewis was a doctor working as a medical missionary, was its general secretary. And Clara Bridgman was among the founders.

Branches of IYO were to be formed in towns and on mission stations, or to link

together existing organisations. A newsheet was to be issued every two months containing material on 'the spiritual, moral and mental training of children', 'hygiene for the native home', and 'other matters suitable for mothers'. It was hoped that finance would be forthcoming from 'colonial ladies' for here was 'an opportunity' for them 'to help a form of mission work that must commend itself to even the most determined negrophobe among them'.[131]

One of the original impulses of the IYO was to curb the movement of African women to the towns. Jessie Hertslet wrote this in 1914:

> Let it be remembered that for every slatternly woman wasting her time in the towns there are thousands of busy, efficient workers in the country. Christianity and more slowly, civilisation are taking hold of these women, and as they emerge from ignorance and the darkness of heathendom everything possible should be done by the white races to preserve their virtues and protect them from new vices unknown in their kraals.[132]

As Deborah Gaitskell has shown, the preservation of chastity was one of the prime concerns of Christian women philanthropists and informed their activities particularly the founding of hostels for African women and girls in large urban centres.

> ...recreation and health supervision' was a priority in church hostels on moral and religious grounds, rather than for reasons of industrial efficiency; that is, African women and girls were to be kept sexually chaste by means of safe accommodation, regular spiritual teaching, constructive use of leisure and the personal supervision of a 'kindly Christian matron'.[133]

Hertslet and Clara Bridgman both subsequently moved to the Rand where the Mothercraft League and the ABM were associated in the establishment of the Helping Hand Club 'a home for native girls who are away from their own homes, and who are in need of a friend'.[134] ABM activities on the Rand (including the work of Clara Bridgman) will be discussed later. Hertslet's range of activities, like that of Clara, was extensive. Her persistent efforts to persuade white women and girls to demonstrate more enlightened attitudes towards blacks - the attempted development of a kind of etiquette of 'race relations' - are, in retrospect, a reminder of just how crucial (white) women philanthropists were in the making or elaboration of social reformist attitudes and practices regarding blacks. In an open letter to white girls written in 1914 she took the class-structured benevolence of English society as her model:

> In England and the old countries girls are taught by their mothers to pity and care for the poor, so they learn compassion, which is one of the most beautiful virtues. But in this country there is no such pitiful class, their place is taken by the coloured people, whom many of the white people are taught to despise.
> Believe me, scorn does far more harm to the one who harbours it than to its object. The girl who 'kicks the Kaffir'... or 'gives Coolie Mary a good thrashing' is hurting herself far more than anyone else. And worse still she is lowering the white womanhood of this country by such actions.[135]

The growing involvement of women in what can loosely be described as welfare work among Africans, can be related to the appearance after Union of a social reformism which drew its intellectual content largely from English social thought and would found its expression mostly in liberal Christian publications such as the **Christian Express, South African Friend and South African**

Quarterly. Sanitary reform, suffragette feminism, and Fabian positivism were among the currents of thought, which can be detected in what was admittedly an amorphous phenomenon. Nevertheless there are two dominant characteristics which are also among the causes of this social reformism. Firstly, there is the appearance of small groups of people (**agents d'liason**) who see it as a social duty to involve themselves in other people's lives, health, nutrition, housing, etc. Secondly there is a coalescing of certain existing philanthropic practices and notions. These twin processes are illustrated by the outcome of a meeting of Transvaal Quakers in 1915:

> In the 7th March 1915 (sic) a discussion on 'The Society of Friends, place and work', was held and attention was drawn to the privilege and duty of Friends to engage in Social Work, particularly in connection with temperance and housing problems. Friends responded to the call and helped in various ways. They joined the 'Citizens' Alliance for Liquor Reform' which is now the 'South African Temperance Alliance' and have continued in this work up to the present time.[136]

Social reformism was informed to an extent by developments in early social work among blacks. For instance, the use of the term 'social service' to classify certain philanthropic practices appears to have been first used in South Africa (in 1911) by American Board missionaries operating in Durban. Medical discourse influence both the perceptions and terminology of social reformers. For example, F Clarke, an educationist at the South African College, emphasized in 1914 that 'the hygienic habit is so closely bound up with other citizen virtues that the whole range of moral development is likely to be beneficially affected by its formation.[137]

The role of formal Commissions (usually state-appointed) in conditioning periodic revisions or reformulations of liberal and philanthropic notions was considerable neglected. Two commissions in particular - the 1911 Assaults on Women Commission (appointed by the South African Missionary Conference) and the 1914 Tuberculosis Commission - contributed to the interaction between social reformist thought and perceptions of the social conditions of urban Africans.

The publication of the Assaults on Women Commission's Report in late 1913 led the **South African Friend** to editorialize that

> ...a large and clearly defined field of work has been thrown open to the public-spirited men and women of this country. In the comprehensiveness and importance of its recommendations of present conditions it stands on the front rank of social literature. Reading it, we are irresistibly reminded of the famous Monthly Report of the Poor Law Commission...[138]

A further discussion on the Commission in the same issue stressed the urgency 'for checks to be placed upon inter-racial dealings before new conditions are created threatening the stability of the State'.[139] An increased support for segregationist measures by a number of progressive whites was accompanied and counter-pointed by calls for philanthropic interventions. The Commission recommended for instance, that

> ...Where Natives are collected in large numbers, the white man, in his own interests should take care that they be enabled to live under clean, healthy conditions of family and social life... instead of in miserable hovels and shanties in which they are now compelled to live.[140]

The Assaults on Women Commission's recommendation was echoed by the 1914

Tuberculosis Commission in forthright terms

> ...the majority of such locations are a menace to the health of their inhabitants and directly to the health of those in the towns... it is with the character of the dwellings that the greatest fault must be found. With few exceptions these are a disgrace, and the majority are quite unfit for human habitation... generally speaking, the dwellings are mere shanties, often nothing more than hovels... overcrowding is frequent and altogether one could hardly imagine more suitable conditions for the spread of tuberculosis.[141]

The Commission also pointed out that despite these appalling conditions, in many instances the local authority was profiting from the administration of its locations, which accrued to general municipal revenue.

Although both Commissions declared municipalities accountable for black housing, their Reports stimulated white philanthropic interest in the social conditions of urban blacks. Indeed, the small groups of municipal reformers who appeared during 1913-14 and who were particularly active on the Rand during 1914-15, took as one of their central arguments the proposition that municipalities were responsible for providing suitable housing for blacks. Even in the early 1920s (when Joint Councils and Native Welfare societies had been established in most large towns) one of the accepted channels for voluntary philanthropic work relating to blacks was the municipality. J X Lennox, linked the appearance of Native Welfare societies with 'two types of effort' regarding the improvement of urban locations.

> There is the Durban system... The second system is in operation at Bloemfontein, where the Town Council **and other enlightened men** have financed out of the rates and especially out of the money derived from Native sources a well-planned Town location with many public conveniences and attractions. Bloemfontein has really given a lead to the whole of South Africa in the practical interest it has taken in Native welfare. Of course it means that there is a small group of enlightened men at the back of this effort.[142]

The intentions and interventions of the municipal reformers were usually double-edged. It was not only the amelioration of the living conditions of urban blacks but more effective control (frequently disguised in more neutral terms such as 'management') that was sought. SANRAC complained in 1908 'that municipal authorities have often omitted to make any adequate provision for the accommodation **and supervision** of the natives who now took to the towns in search of work'. (emphasis added).[143]

Temperance was often clearly related to municipal reform movements. The growth of the temperance movement after Union and its links with social reformism is indicated by the following observation of Emilie Solomon, a Cape Town social critic:

> Only those who are closely concerned with the movement for Social Reform, and who study the signs of the times from day to day, can have any idea of the change which is taking place in public opinion in regard to the temperance movement... public sentiment in favour of Total Prohibition is growing in the Union, especially in Johannesburg and other mining centres.[144]

Some temperance reformers linked the abolition of illicit liquor with the provision of adequate housing to remove pressures on African households to

make up high rents for slum tenements through liquor dealing. Pim wrote to Selborne in June 1915 that

> Some of us who have not been able to get other work are trying to obtain more control of the illicit liquor traffic, and to improve the scandalous conditions under which natives are found in this town.[145]

On the Rand at least, by adequate housing was understood the provision of suitable locations for blacks; multi-racial slums were to be cleared away rather than improved. To an extent the various 'recipients' (white and black) of this form of social reformism were located by their presence in these slums. Writing about Johannesburg in 1915, Macmillan remarked:

> I shall not readily forget what I have seen in the slums of the town. In almost every case where Whites and blacks live side by side, the blacks are on the upgrade, in the slums because there is no place for them clean and decent: but their children are growing up there learning 'civilisation' from white neighbours, squalid and filthy, the very dregs of society.[146]

This ideological linkage between sanitation and morality was not only manifested in calls for slum clearance and new (segregated) locations but also in the growth of interest in the architecture of sanitation in existing and planned locations. The writer of a 1914 article entitled 'The Town Location: A Composite Picture' revealed the influence of English sanitary reformers in his critique of municipal administration of urban locations:

> The regulations permit of two families occupying each erf of fifty feet square (lodgers allowed in some cases) and when we remember that this is one fourth of the space which sanitary specialists consider the minimum for healthY living, we smile when we are told that 'overcrowding is not allowed'. The houses are of all sorts... Yet all are paying taxes to the Municipality and have a right to expect in return light, water, sanitation and police protection.[147]

For medical missionary Dr Lewis Hertslet, efficient sanitation facilitated mechanisms of informal control and was an integral part of the architecture of the ideal location:

> It seems clear / he wrote in 1913 / that the time has come for every town and village in the country to have attached to it a properly-managed, sanitary, and decent village for natives who are working in the town, whether permanently or temporarily. Such a village should be easily accessible, either on foot or by some means of cheap transit, space should be left for its future enlargement, the married quarters should have space allotted for kitchen gardens, and should be quite away from the young men's compounds. Water should be laid on, proper bathing and sanitary accommodation provided, the streets should be well-lighted, and the houses let at reasonable and varying rents. A Native Board should be entrusted with as much authority as possible, and the whole village should be under Corporation control and subject to periodic inspection by officials. No alcohol liquors should be allowed and no white people.[148]

Hertslet's possession of medical knowledge, his wife's contact with Cape women intellectuals such as Betty Molteno and E Solomon, and the fact that he was credited with influencing the recommendations of the Assaults on Women Commission Report regarding the management of locations, place him in the mainstream

of social reformist thought relating to blacks.

From an examination of the attendance records of the surviving minutes of the relevant organization doctors appear to have been better represented in white philanthropic ventures and in Native Affairs societies during 1900-1919 than in the subsequent Joint Councils of the 1920s and 1930s. The relative withdrawal of white doctors from social reformist activities requires detailed examination. The gradual encroachment by doctors acting as the functionaries of the state or local government (i.e. the Medical Officer of Health and the District Surgeon) on areas where doctors may have intervened as social reformers is one factor. The appearance of the location nurse - either in a voluntary or paid capacity is another possible reason. Location nurses (whether white or black) were often active members of Joint Councils especially those in smaller towns.

The suggestion made by Hertslet and others during 1913-14, that urban locations have a 'medical man' in daily supervision of all sanitary arrangements, was probably not implemented because nurses were cheaper to employ than doctors. Also they could fulfil sex-allocated roles such as instructing African women on domestic hygiene. The 1318 Report of the Native Affairs on New Brighton Location near Post Elizabeth gives an early official view of the envisaged functions of such nurses:

> It is contemplated to engage the service of a Lovedale- trained nurse to aid in educating mothers and others, especially tuberculosis patients, in matters concerned with health.[149]

Along with the development of social reformism during the early post-Union years, there were the beginnings of new libertarian initiatives of a civil rights nature which were conditioned by an increased political assertiveness by Africans and other blacks. This politicization was underlined by the formation of the South African Native Congress in 1912 and the subsequent establishment of the **Abantu Batho** an activist newspaper closely linked to Congress. Opposition to the 1913 Land Act was a further rallying point. Bridgman complained in late 1913 that

> ...the race questiom here is becoming more and more difficult every day* The strain is very tense just now. The loss of native confidence in even the good intentions of the whites and white government is widespread.[150]

A loss of confidence by Africans in 'friends of the natives' wasn't simply the result of a heightened politicization - it was also tied up with the migration of Africans to industrial towns, impersonal and increasingly segregated and the emergence of an urban petit bourgeoisie and a working class in these centres. Particularly in the newer industrial cities the onus was on whites to establish or reconstruct philanthropic relationships. The 1913 strike by Africans on the Rand, Pim contended, was a portent of more serious disturbances:

> At the present time South Africa is allowing real grievances, such as those arising in certain districts from the administration of the Native Land Act, to go unremedied, and unless far closer supervision is exercised discontent and disorder are bound to follow.
>
> Grievances of this kind however... are not so serious as discontent arising among the native workers in industrial centres... and it is idle to suppose that the consequences of any such disturbance will not reverberate through every native district, and permanently affect the

peace, good order and progress of South Africa.[151]

Such warnings were not confined to observers based in the Transvaal. Evans, for example, who appears to have been somewhat more aware than Pim of the growing political consciousness of groups of African petty bourgeoisie in the cities, drew attention to

> Organised attempts at the Union of all for common racial ends, and concurrently with this breaking down of tribal barriers and old animosities in centres such as the Witwatersrand.
>
> The great and growing desire for and the obtaining of education by ever-increasing numbers.
>
> The dissemination of knowledge, and the preaching of common race ideals by newspapers.[152]

Despite increased organisational unity, during the 1900s and after, among churches and mission societies - reflected in the formation of such bodies as the Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Witwatersrand Church Councils, the Natal Missionary Conference, the Transvaal Missionary Association and the South African General Missionary Conference - there was little in the way of a systematic critique of measures directed against blacks by the State or local authorities. This critique had to await post-war urban protest.

Theoretically, the views of delegations from these organisations, by virtue of being representative of more than one church or mission society, would carry more authority. In addition, these institutions provided a potential forum for blacks to articulate their grievances. For example, John Dube the SANNC president addressed the 1912 South African Missionary Conference in CapeTown.

Interestingly, it was the small community of South African Quakers who were prominent in attempts in Cape Town and Johannesburg to liaise with black political movements. One is reminded of Stephen Spender's remark:

> The Quakers are the only set which has set an example of liberalism to agnostics. This is because the Society of Friends has expelled every ritualistic, every authoritarian, every dogmatic element from its belief, which is not religious at all but is the contemplation of a way of life.[153]

Though the politicization of Africans was most pronounced on the Rand, it was in Cape Town with its relatively small urban African population which saw the first institutional attempt by whites to establish links with a younger generation of African leaders. The South African Society (initially the African Society) was formed by a small group of white intellectuals in the wake of the 1913 Land Act with the stated object of promoting 'the welfare of the Native and Coloured Races for their own sake and in the interests of the whole country'.

Arnold Wynne, lecturer at the South African College and editor of the **South African Quarterly** was the first secretary. Among the members were the future Joint Councillors - J W Mushet and Rev R Balmforth. H Mary White, president of the WMA; Molly Molteno; and the noted Cape liberals W P and T L Schreiner were all members. Maurice Evans and a Mrs John Brown were the honorary vice-presidents.

The Society represented more than a reiteration of orthodox turn-of-the cen-

tury Cape liberalism. There were at least two Fabians on the Society - Wynne and Balmforth - as well as a Suffragette-feminist element.

Evidence regarding the SAS's activities is scanty. The Society's constitution, unlike those of the Native Affairs societies of Durban and Johannesburg, made no reference to research on the 'Native question'. Although the Society's most obvious model was the APS, it experienced difficulties in defining its scope and functions. In a private letter to APS secretary, Travers Buxton, Mary White warned

> that patience will be needed before much can be expected of us... We are badly organised and a proper committee was only elected last Tuesday. The business capacity hitherto shown has not been such to inspire one with confidence but I still hope we shall get into shape and be able to do some work. .. At the present the new society is shy and afraid of being regarded as interfering in other peoples' business.[154]

Though the Society was short-lived - it collapsed in 1916 following the death in action of its energetic secretary Arnold Wynne - its significance lay in the fact that it was the first secular 'Native affairs' society to seek and establish links with the SANNC. In particular, it 'advised' the 1914 Congress delegation London on tactics, and commended the delegation to the care of the APS.[155]

With the break-up of NAST it was initially Indian, rather than African protest politics, that attracted Pim, Hosken and others. During 1912-13 Hosken's house was used as a venue for private meetings with Gokhale and Gandhi. H S L Polak, a Quaker and ex-NAST member, gave Gandhi fairly unqualified support[156] and Hosken was on record of saying

> The history of the treatment of the Indians in South Africa is one long record of injustice, greed, and much cruelty by those in authority, and those not in authority.[157]

Pim's standpoint was more problematic. For him the administrative actions of which the British Indian Committee complained were largely due to subordinate officials with 'little sense of responsibility' and not 'part of a policy adopted by the Government with the deliberate object of making things comfortable for them'.[158] He appears to have seen his role as suggesting ways of access to departments of state - a function he was equipped to perform by virtue of his personal contacts with high officialdom. A letter to J E Adamson, the director of Education, gives an idea of his approach:

> The fact that there was no school for Indians was brought forward by Gokhale and Gandhi...I told them all that was needed to obtain assistance for the school was that the Indian community approach the board in the proper way. This Gokhale saw they did... The arrangement came to, however.. . doesn't suit Gandhi who'd rather have the political grievance than the school...[159]

Bridgman apart, the forging of personal links with black political leaders in Natal does not seem to have been a priority with white philanthropists and proto-liberals. The emphasis was on theorising about ways of liaising with blacks. Influential in this respect were the post-1910 writings of Evans and Lewis Hertslet. Both endorsed segregationism. Herstlet stressed that segregation

> ...does not mean leaving the Natives to themselves to work out their own

> salvation, but the scheme includes a sane, paternal government, which aims at a proper development of these inherent qualities in the black race which will make for the eventual good of the individual and the community.[160]

While conceding that the extension of 'representative institutions' to 'all our population' might one day be feasible, Evans argued in 1914 for the immediate introduction of two kinds of state-created institutions. The first, and 'most important' step, was the close, watchful, continuous study of the ever varying phases of what is called the Native Question, the relations of the races, and the effects of race contact'. He repeated the recommendation made in his book **Black and White in South East Africa** for 'the establishment of a permanent non-political Council to study the whole question for the enlightenment of Government, Parliament and the electorate'.[161] and

The second need was 'the adequate voicing of native opinion'. In **Black and White in South East Africa** he had suggested that this want could be met by two members of the Council 'addressing Parliament from time to time as they desired on native matters'. In a modified version of the New Zealand scheme for separate representation (as recommended by SANAC and the Natal Native Affairs Commission) 'chiefs and their councillors and representative men among educated natives' would be able to vote for special white candidates nominated by the state.[162] In the preface to the second edition of **Black and White in South East Africa**, written in December 1915, Evans appears to have envisaged a somewhat wider African electorate:

> I think the time is ripe for the election by qualified natives of a limited number of Europeans to represent the native people in Parliament.[163]

It may well be that the development of Evans's views on the question of African political representation resulted from his experiences within the Native Affairs Reform Committee/Association. With Bridgman's departure for Johannesburg in early 1913, Evans became closely identified with the organisation. An early account of the genesis of the Joint Councils states:

> There were Native Welfare Societies in various parts of South Africa for many years before the Joint Council movement was established. Perhaps the most effective was that led by Dr Maurice Evans (sic) in Durban.[164]

The Natal Native Affairs Reform Association (it was redesignated an Association in 1913) operated until 1919 and its demise appears to have been linked with the death of Evans during that year. Little is known at this stage regarding the transformation of the Association into a more welfare-orientated body. An indication of the expansion of its functions is that it was used as a model by the Pretoria Native Welfare Association.[165]

In his writings, Evans said little about the NNARA. In the second edition of **Black and White in South East Africa** (1916) a fundamental divide was still 'the black man in his kraal and the black man in the mission station'. In other words, Evan hadn't fully acknowledged the presence of an emergent urban African petty bourgeoisie: the educated African was equated with the essentially rural African **kholwa** class. A possible explanation of Evans's viewpoint is that in Natal urban locations tended to be in close proximity to reserves and mission reserves. He did point out that' in centres like Johannesburg and ports such as Durban are men representing many races and tribes, many cultures and religions'. However, this recognition of the increasing migration of Africans to large urban centres was coloured by a view that cities were

unnatural places for Africans. This was especially so in the case of Johannesburg:

> Accustomed at home to meet only the family and the neighbours, he here / Johannesburg / meets men of his own colour whose homes are thousands of miles apart. Zulu meets with Angoni, Fingo with Swazi, Basuto with Damara... The majority return to their kraals full of the new ideas and form one of the chief factors in the change of life which is going on among the Abantu. Some never return, they fall victims to the charms of the kaleidoscopic life, and become men about town; forgetting their homes, they form casual acquaintances, spend all their earnings in tailormade clothes, women and drink, and go to make a factor in the native question which we have not heretofore experienced...[167]

In 1918, though still opposed to African urbanization, Evans recommended that the state expand its welfare functions in regard to African workers

> ...as South Africa becomes an industrial country there will be a double draw of the young Native for the urban attractions and, on the other hand, the demand of the industrial capitalist for their labour. The longer experience of the United States shows that in these circumstances deterioration of both races sets in.
>
> We do not wish to retard the economic development of this country, but we do wish to protect these people against tendencies and temptations which they cannot withstand. It seems to me the duty of the Government to protect them and this put into practical form means that, wherever labour is aggregated, there should be representatives of the Government to see that conditions of life and work are healthy and that the material interests of the Native workers are safeguarded. I would go further and say that the moral welfare of the people should be carefully watched, uplifting tendencies should be encouraged, and all influences that tend to deterioration of life and character should be repressed. To a greater degree than has hitherto been attempted, Government should be the guardians of these people in their new environment.[168]

On the question of political representation for Africans. He suggested that instead of 'educated Natives and chiefs' electing a small number of white MPs, district councils on the Transkei model should be extended throughout South Africa. And these councils 'would send delegates to a Central Assembly of the Province in which they were situated'.[169]

A point which needs to be considered, is that there existed a distinct disjunction between the practical philanthropic activities of whites such as Evans and their theoretical productions. For instance, welfare work among urban Africans could suggest a tacit acceptance or subconscious recognition of the permanency of their urbanization.

Evans' opposition to African urbanization was conditioned by a tour of the United States he made in 1912 which resulted in a book entitled **Black and White in the Southern States.** Although the drawing of analogies between South Africa and the American South was commonplace among those writing about 'Native affairs', Evans was the first to systematically use the terminology of an emerging discourse on 'race relations'. He consciously saw himself as redefining the 'Native Question' and terms such as 'race betterment' , 'race relations' and 'ethnic virtue of the European and Bantu peoples' recur in his later writings. In retrospect it is a question of semantics, with Evans selectively invoking the fledgling 'race relations' sociology and the hostility

evinced by white Americans towards blacks. Yet, whether Evans can be accused of hypocrisy is questionable. His refusal/inability to find and consider conflicting evidence needs to be related to the assumptions and stereotypes embodied in his analyses. These include the notions that 'race contact' leads to 'race deterioration' that the children of black and white parents 'form a hybrid race of unstable characteristics' and that 'the races are so different in capacity, character and culture that identical treatment is impossible'.[170]

These assumptions short-circuited his analyses. For example, his observations in the United States are coloured by the assumption (which appears as a 'fact') that the 'racial problems' of the American South and South Africa are similar. Thus, the 'evidence 'collected in the Southern States confirmed rather than undercut his main hypothesis that 'points of contact' between black and white had to be reduced as far as possible.

It should be pointed out, however, that Evans' tour of the Southern States took place at a time when there was a move in the direction of increased institutionalised segregation and when lynching of blacks had not been stamped out. Also, American studies on 'race relations' in the early twentieth century as Frazier argues, asserted the Negro's inferior social heredity, low possibility of assimilation and the undesirability of physical miscegenation.[171]

Part of Evans' significance as a progenitor of 'native welfare and 'interracial' ventures lies in the personal links he forged and maintained and the networks in which he participated. Crucial in this regard was his association with C T Loram who in 1918 was appointed the first Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal. Interestingly Loram studied in the 1910s in New York under Mabel Carney at Columbia. Carney was one of the early 'race relations' experts - especially 'race relations' in a rural setting. Seconded to Smuts' Native Affairs Commission in 1920 Loram was to play an active part in establishing 'Native welfare' societies and Joint Councils during the 1920s and in acting as a conduit for funds for these and other voluntary bodies from American philanthropic agencies.

Loram's introduction to 'Native work' came from several missionaries, including some from the American Board, and especially from Evans.

> To be sure / he wrote in 1931 / I did not actually get into Native work at once, but associated myself with Mr Maurice Evans and the other stalwarts of the Natal Native Affairs Reform Association.[172]

Like Evans, Loram had studied the functioning of Tuskegee and Hempton at first hand and had met their respective principals. For Loram, consciously working out 'a new system of Native education' during 1918-1920,[173] it was 'in the proper education of the Native that the greatest hope for the settlement of the Native Question lies'.[174] And 'proper education' for Africans lay along the lines of the industrial education of Tuskegee and Hampton. Evans, too, thought the Tuskegee and Hampton systems (or rather his interpretation of content and ethics) could be favourably deployed in South Africa:

> One of the most serious sub-problems of the racial question is the economic future of the educated Native... when the educated youth essays to enter as a journey man the trade he has learned, he finds he cannot be admitted... In some cases the law, and in other, public opin ion,forbid him to enter other well paid and desirable callings, which the white man has marked as his own. His hopes of advancement thus frustrated, he becomes a political agitator. But if the Government seriously take in hand the development of the Native areas, there is at

once an opening for the educated man and woman among their own people.

> I have ... spoken of the good work done among the Negroes of the Southern States by the graduates of Hampton, Tuskegee and other industrial training institutions. Similarly, here, the best of the Natives might find scope as teachers, instructors in agriculture and handicraft and thus help to raise their own race, and as the community advanced, the openings for the educated would become greater.
>
> There should be no limit set to their opportunities in their own districts, but their own capacity. Here there could be clerks, storekeepers, artisans, interpreters and even doctors and lawyers.[175]

Writing in 1917, J Dexter Taylor praised Loram for securing the ABM-run Amanzimtoti Institute 'the privilege of creating its own curriculum, along the Hampton lines plus cultural training'. At about the same time Bridgman, who had returned to the Rand after a furlough, was noting that 'the Land Act and the legislation on native administration just enacted has stirred racial antipathy here to an alarming degree'.

African urban unrest in the period 1917-20 found its main focus on the Rand and a network of liberal/philanthropic ventures in this area were to provide the backdrop for the Johannesburg Joint Council which was established in April 1921.

After moving to the Rand in 1913 the Bridgmans soon realized that certain groups of Africans such as the city slum-dwellers, domestic servants in white suburbs and residents of urban locations, had been largely untouched by mission effort. But he found the opposition of white residents to mission work in the suburbs, which involved the building of chapels, much stronger than in Durban. 'In Johannesburg', he wrote in 1912 'I am just learning what racial prejudice and hate mean'.[178]

In 1915 the most encouraging feature for Bridgman of the ABM social work on the Rand were the efforts of Clara in opening a day school in Doornfontein and in establishing a rudimentary child welfare operation focusing on the slum children. The tasks of Clara and her voluntary helper (the wife of the secretary of the Johannesburg YMCA)

> ...involved visiting sick mothers, or ailing babies, rounding up the truants, and burrowing in new yards finding recruits for our band of 'hopefuls'.[179]

On his return to Johannesburg in 1917 after a furlough in the USA, Bridgman was soon criticizing the complacency among missions:

> Look for a moment at the old subject of amusements for the natives, what are missions doing to meet the need in Johannesburg? Here are there tens of thousands of young men, with their superabundant animal energy, separated from homes, tribal occupations and restraints, thrown into the glaring allurements of novel city life... But if the church is standing still the native is travelling fast! Consequently the native has organised his own pastimes.[180]

Although he realised that the ABM could 'only do a little toward meeting the need of so wide a field' he hoped the mission would 'serve as a pioneer to point the way'. He suggested the establishment of 'two or three social centres' with each serving 'a different class of native, in the city, on the

mines and in a location'. The structure of these centres was similar to that he had mooted in Durban and included a hall, social, reading and game rooms and a medical dispensary. If outside support for such centres was not forthcoming 'considerable work' could be done 'on social service lines':

> Given the workers, with a small amount of apparatus, the athletic and entertainment spheres may be entered. The stereoptician, bioscope and a glee club could undertake much useful work in compounds and other quarters.[181]

In 1919 the Helping Hand Club came into being through the efforts of Clara Bridgman and a 'committee of white ladies'. This 'social and educational centre for native girls' represented an attempt to instil discipline and a new domesticity among maids, many of whom were in their teens and 'bold, independent and of loose character'.[182]

The arrival of Rev Ray E Phillips and his wife in November 1918 to run the new 'social service and recreation department' gave a boost to the Bridgman's work and plans. The newcomers assisted **inter alia** in the work among children in the city slums and Ray Phillips established troops of Pathfinders (a form of boy scouts). The Pathfinders were in part a response of what was perceived to be a growing problem of juvenile delinquency and the movement's quasi-military structure was indicative of a desire to inculcate discipline and kindred 'respectable' moral values.

Bridgman found Phillips 'a veritable dynamo' and within a month of his arrival the latter had organized recreational evenings at several mine compounds with 'games, varied stunts of skill and endurance, music and magic lantern shows making up the programmes'.[183] The showing of films, carefully selected, later became the focal point of these evenings and Phillips' operation, financed by the Chamber of Mines, took in the whole of the Witwatersrand.

Phillips' efforts to open lines of communication with a rising class of militant educated Africans on the Rand by means of a cultural and educational programme met with a subdued reception at first. He persevered and, according to Bridgman, by manly appeal he ... succeeded in securing the nucleus of what might be described as a university club'.[184] The Gamma Sigma Club, modelled on the letter societies of Yale and Harvard, presented Africans with an elitist alternative (with ethnic overtones) to radical political ideologies:

> Why / wrote Phillips / an Educated Boys' Club? For the simple reason that most of the educated boys here in Johannesburg are outside the church. Many of them have good positions and are earning good salaries. They feel the pull of the world mightily... they are 'educated' - can read and speak English fairly well - and they feel above the fellow who cannot. Then, too, the Zulus, who furnish many of the educated boys, are a proud race, and feel their superiority over the poor East Coast boys, and the natives from the Transvaal... One of the possibilities of the Club will be the opportunity which it will present of having prominent European officials and others interested in native affairs speak to these boys about their interests. This may do something to alleviate the spirit of distrust and unrest prevailing among the natives here and now.[185]

The Club as Phillips later recalled, was instrumental in forging personal links between elements of an African intelligentsia and liberal and other sympathetic whites - a construction of inter-personal relationships between white and black which the Johannesburg Joint Council accomplished on a larger

scale.

> For several months this Gamma Sigma Club met for discussion and debate, essay writing and extemporaneous speaking. At the same time, during these months we were meeting white men of goodwill who were kindly disposed to the natives, but who had never made any contacts with this educated group - didn't even know of their existence...
>
> These meetings were a good thing for the native men. They began to see that things were not as simple as they looked, nor remedies so easily found. They discovered that the white man had many aspects of these questions to consider. And most important, they learned that they had friends, many of them, among the white people. But it was hard, and it is today, for these educated native men to keep sane and deal with even friendly white men on a courteous footing.[186]

The growing alienation between whites and Africans was also the concern of an important meeting organized by the Quakers on 19 April 1919 and addressed by J Henderson of Lovedale. Among those present were Bridgman, Phillips, Pim, Hosken, and Michael Furset the Bishop of Pretoria. The choice of Henderson, a friend of Pim's, was possibly indicative of a new interest by philanthropists and liberals (some of whom had recently moved to Johannesburg) in the potential application of Cape liberal practices on the Rand. For Howard Pim, the meeting was hopefully 'the beginning of a very great revival of interest in that all-important / native / question in Johannesburg'.[187]

Among the features of Hendersons speech, which has been analysed at length by Legassick,[188] in his contention that 'there was a real danger in the creation of a poor native class, corresponding to the poor white class' in the reserves. Particularly in the eastern Cape, he argued, reserves were over-populated and congested. However, this insight was not expanded to include an analysis of the plight of poor urban Africans.

In closing, Henderson stated:

> ...I feel that we were never so near the parting of the ways with the natives as we are at present. Native dissatisfaction... was never more rife... The one alternative... is to strengthen and maintain a rule of force...the other alternative is to meet these people as fellow human beings, as fellow citizens, - to give them their chance, to draw them into mutually advantageous co-operation with us...[189].lm1

Bridgman, Hosken and Michael Furse, the Bishop of Pretoria, all echoed this sentiment in the ensuing discussion and was agreed to form a Society 'in the interests of the Natives'.[190] At a subsequent meeting the Johannesburg Native Welfare Association was formed, with Pim the chairman and Ray Phillips and Lewis Hertslet as joint secretaries. Though the JNWA shared NAST's concern with social enquiry it saw the purpose of such enquiry as 'securing fair and just treatment for the native races' rather than the more comprehensive aim of formulating a uniform 'native policy'. The Association also undertook 'to ascertain and disseminate considered native opinion' - a definite advance on NAST's standpoint - though there was no mention of possible African membership.[191]

Despite its name it does not appear that the JNWA was particularly active as a welfare body. lectures by people such as H M Taberer and Col Pritchard (O/C of the South African Native Labour Contingent in France) not location work, are

the activities mentioned in a report on the Association.[192] The JNWA, however, did organise at the end of 1919, a round-table conference on the native policy of the Johannesburg City Council which was attended by 'Government officials, town councillors, police officers, missionaries, leading natives, and experts on native questions'.[193]

The concerns and membership of the JNWA overlapped with two organisations which were set up at the same time and were indicative of liberal intellectuals on the Rand. As W M Macmillan remembers it was

> ...on the Rand perhaps more than anywhere else (that) there were many highly observant citizens anxious to give thought to public affairs. It was probably one such inquirer, J D Rheinallt Jones, who was responsible for collecting together a body which came to be known as The Eclectic - a nucleus of university people, and a good representation of businessmen in the widest sense - which met at least monthly in the YMCA to discuss current affairs. At least occasionally the trade unionists made their contribution, and also the clergy (especially those with a missionary interest) who, under the leadership of the Bishop, made sure that African interests were well to the fore.[194]

Apart from The Electic, a Social Welfare Society was formed in mid-1919 following a meeting by 'a small group of men' concerned with 'the whole question of poverty in South Africa and its resultant evils in the hope that by investigation, examination and agitation, some progress might be possible in the fight against social evils so formidable in (the) large towns.'[195] Macmillan and Rheinallt Jones were among the members. Interestingly, Macmillan had been one of the founders of the Grahamstown Social Welfare League (1915) while lecturing at Rhodes University.[196]

The shift from the phrase 'welfare of the native' which was fairly widely used in the early 20th century, to the term 'native welfare' was something more than a question of semantics. The increasing use of the term 'native welfare' appears to have coincided with the emergence of a new discourse on social welfare (including child welfare) which made its mark in South Africa during and immediately after the war years.

The Pretoria Native Welfare Association was the first society to institutionalise the term 'native welfare' though its minutebook is obscure as to the precise reason.[197] The Association had its origin in a meeting held on 25 March 1919 to 'consider the possibility of instituting some form of social work in the Pretoria location'. Among those present at the meeting were the Methodist missionary Rev Amos Burnet, John Dougall, an accountant and director of the Union Land and Agricultural Bank, F Bridgman and J J Leggett the chairman of the Municipal Health Committee.[198]

Before the public launching of the Association on 29 April, a further meeting was held at which it was resolved

> That in view of the intemperance and vice prevalent in the locations, and our convictions that such conditions can best be combated by the provision of recreation and refreshment under decent conditions, this meeting of the Pretoria Native Welfare Association hereby asks the Municipality to provide a building for Native Social Work, comprising a large Hall suitable for lectures, meetings, concerts, etc. and for the sale of suitable refreshments together with rooms for office, nursing and dispensary work: such building to be in grounds prepared for games for Native children and adults...[199]

The scheme, which bore Bridgman's mark, of establishing an 'Institute' for 'Native Social Work' in the location was then discussed with a deputation of representative Natives' who were 'empowered' to bring the matter before a 'mass meeting of Natives' and to inform the Association as to the outcome.[200]

The work of the Association during the first year or so of its existence was confined to the Executive which, from the available evidence, was more active than its Johannesburg counterpart. Although early plans involved the holding of vegetable and flower shows for the location residents and the provision of dispensary services, the interventionism of the PNWA was mainly directed 'towards an investigation of the conditions under which natives in Pretoria live, both in the location and in the quarters provided by Employers in the Town and Suburbs'. The 'overcrowding, squalor and insanitary conditions' of the location drew attention and evidence was given to the Housing Commission and the Departmental Committee on the Pass Laws. In addition, various committees of the Town Council were interviewed.

Although the Town Council stalled on the issue of providing location residents with a social hall and sports grounds the relations between the Association and the Council were relatively cordial. The Municipality even suggested that the PNWA take over the Native Eating House in the location - but the offer was reluctantly declined on financial grounds.[201]

The extent to which the PNWA Executive established and sustained links with urban blacks in Pretoria is difficult to estimate as the Association's minutes are not informative in this respect. The Executive met the location's Native Advisory Committee on two occasions and was also in touch with the local Native Minister's Association. However, a PNWA suggestion that the three bodies meet every quarter does not seem to have been implemented. Nonetheless, liaison with urban blacks was adopted as a working principle by the Association and attempts at establishing philanthropic relationships do not seem to have been confined to formal organisations.

The PNWA predated the Johannesburg Native Welfare Association (JNWA) and thus underlines a need for a more sophisticated conceptualisation of the liberal/philanthropic ventures of the immediate post-war years than the prevailing view that these ventures were essentially a reflexive response to mass political action by blacks, which found its focus on the Rand. A concern among humanitarian whites with the lack of 'control' of a growing and diversifying urban African population was an important dynamic. The first annual report of the PNWA Executive was silent with respect to black protest, but stressed the Executive's anxiety 'about the many evils which are inherent in the present system under which young native women are permitted to remain in towns under no control'.[202]

The notion of 'social control' in understanding the genesis and functioning of voluntary philanthropic and liberal agencies can be overworked. What must also be taken into account is the development of a critique of the social conditions of urban blacks - a development which was related to the emergence of a group of liberal intelligentsia associated with the new universities - Transvaal University College (Pretoria) and the University of Witwatersrand.

The creation of a philanthropic strategy concerned with establishing lines of communication and surveillance with politically active African petty bourgeois elements was partly the result of the ramification of certain local and sectarian philanthropic networks and increased interaction between state-sponsored and voluntary activities. There are a number of examples of the

drawing together of philanthropic networks: the 1919 meeting organised by the Quakers, the links between the PNWA and NNARA and the propagandising work of the eponymous Bridgman. A developing philanthropic strategy aimed at defusing African protest through essentially extra parliamentary means was informed by several state-appointed commissions, the Moffat Commission in particular. The 1918 Moffat Report on African strikes on the Rand was a virtual touchstone for a nascent South African liberalism.

The Moffat Report recommended **inter alia** that the 'colour bar' should be lifted in the mining industry, that pass laws be streamlined and made less oppressive (though not removed), that 'Native Councils' be established to give outlet to voicelessness of Africans, and that the possibility of the extension of the Cape franchise to Africans in their provinces be considered. All these issues, with the exception of the extension of the Cape franchise, were raised at the 1919 meeting organised by the Quakers, and by a Witwatersrand Church Council (WCC) delegation which interviewed F S Malan the Minister of Native Affairs in December 1918.

The Moffat Report hardly dealt with the underlying structures of exploitation and oppression on the Rand, and, as F Johnstone has remarked, it distorted evidence presented by African mine workers.[204] Their priority was higher wages, not the job colour bar. However, the removal of the job colour bar could be presented to sections of an African petty bourgeoisie as a desirable object. In an address to the JNWA in December 1919, D D T Jabuvu declared the chief cause of unrest among Africans was the colour bar.[205]

Hancock, in his biography of Smuts, regards an open letter written in 1920 by Michael Furse, the Bishop of Pretoria, as a source of inspiration for the Native Affairs Act which made provision for annual conferences between state officials and selected African leaders, the establishment of local councils on lines of the Glen Grey councils, and the formation of an advisory body, the Native Affairs Commission. Furse remarked on the aimlessness of native policy, the exploitation and voicelessness of Africans, and the need for consultation.[206] But calls for Native Councils date back to the proceedings of the Native Affairs societies, though formulations by liberals during 1918-1919 embodied more specific intentions. For instance, Bridgman, as one of the WCC delegation to Malan

> ...raised the question of Native Councils. He felt there was room for something on the lines of the Transkeian General Council. At present the Transvaal Native Congress was the mouthpiece of Native feeling in the Transvaal. He felt it was a pity that this organisation should be given the monopoly of representing Native opinion which they not really represent.

However, insofar as a consensus existed between the state, mining capital and 'friends of the native', it was to the effect that additional or alternative structures had to be created (by whites) to cater for and control African protest and welfare. There was certainly no opposition from liberals to the establishment in 1920 by the Chamber of Mines of the newspaper **Umteteli wa Bantu** to counter **Abantu Batho**.

Perhaps the clearest indication of a coalescing philanthropic strategy was the plans of C T Loram on his appointment to the Native Affairs Commission in 1920. Education, though in the broadest sense of the word, still preoccupied him. Already in 1920, it seems, he envisaged the large-scale application in the spheres of primary and adult school education of non-denominational Christian instruction (preferably state-run) utilising ideas drawn frcm the Jeanes

and Hampton/Tuskegee models.[208] Such education would constitute a comprehensive social and cultural service in the towns and the countryside and by implication extend moral control.

From the beginning of his association with the NAC, Loram stressed the need to coordinate and encourage unofficial 'native welfare' schemes. Writing to J X Merriman in November 1920, he announced his wish of establishing a series of 'Welfare Societies' in the large towns similar to those existing in Durban and Johannesburg. These would be concerned with African 'betterment' and with consciousness raising among whites:

> I believe there is a great amount of energy available for social work at present unused among the Christian people of your larger towns. I should like to be allowed to organise a series of these societies with the possibility of an annual meeting under the presidency of the Minister (of Native Affairs). The publicity thus obtained would be something towards raising conscience on Native matters among the Europeans...[209]

Two months later Loram remarked to Merriman that he had been trying to establish Welfare Societies in Alice, East London, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Bloemfontein and Ladysmith. He emphasized:

> the desirability of Advisory Boards of Natives to meet with the European committees. This has been done to induce thought and study from which I hope may result education and action. Regulation and legislation have their uses, but nothing permanent can be done without a change of heart... I hope that the Associations may give a lead to public opinion.[210]

A structural flaw in this scheme - which marks the commencement of Loram's part in the establishment of Joint Councils in the 1920s - was the lack of provision for black members on these societies. While the creation of white **agents d'liason** was important, black agents were vital especially on the Rand. Though meetings with Advisory Boards of Africans gave some promise of institutionalised contact with Africans this was too clumsy and unsatisfactory a means of growing access to the various African petty bourgeois groupings in the larger towns.

CONCLUSION

The making of urban space and the establishment of the geo-political foundation of a new nation state during the first two decades of the twentieth century, contributed to the emergence of new and modified kinds of ideas and practices vis-a-vis the 'welfare' of Africans. Broadly, at the level of secular activity, one sees the establishment and then supercession of societies talking about African, by societies beginning to intervene in the daily lives of urban Africans. One also sees the coalescing of the social reformist practices of the more modern and activist Church organizations - the American Board of Missions in particular - with those of the voluntary secular societies. In addition, there is a gradual disentangling of philanthropic concerns from prescriptions for heightened control of Africans through extensive racial segregation. Though most if not all whites involved in 'native welfare' ventures held segregationist views or assumptions, the thrust of philanthropic interventions - which tended to confirm the permanency of African urbanization - could and did run counter to such assumptions.

The reconnection of social reformist discourses regarding Africans with the Cape liberal tradition was largely achieved during 1925-1927, with the 1925

Wage and Economic Commission Report (which stressed the inter connectedness of white and black economic interests) and the campaign against Hertzog's segregationist legislation of 1925-26, being crucial touchstones in the process. However, in the realm of practice, the establishment of joint councils of Whites and Africans, in the larger cities, from 1921 onwards, prefigured the creation of this 'new liberalism'. Partly modelled on the inter-racial councils of the American South, the joint councils provided the means, though limited, for the establishment or extension of lines of social communication between whites and Africans. And it was these social relationships - on the Rand especially - which seem to have nudged whites into more critical positions regarding the state's segregationist policies, and strengthened their defence of the Cape African vote.

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Papers relating to Legislation Affecting Natives in the Transvaal (in continuation of Cd 714 July, 1901). Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, January 1902, Milner to Chamberlain, 6 December 1901. Gervase Clarence-Smith's argument that a romantic anti-capitalist strain can be detected among British colonial administrators in Africa and in the Colonial Office, though not applicable to Milner, may be worth exploring in regard to Southern Africa.

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APPENDIX C

JOINT COUNCILS IN EXISTANCE IN 1928[1]

TRANSVAAL	CAPE	NATAL	OFS
Benoni	Aliwal North	Durban	Bloemfontein
Johannesburg	Cape Town	Ladysmith	
Pietersburg	Grahamstown	Pietermaritzburg	
Pretoria	Kimberley	Umtata	
Springs	Kingwilliamstown		
	Port Elizabeth		
	Queenstown		

JOINT COUNCILS IN EXISTANCE IN 1932[2]

TRANSVAAL	CAPE	NATAL	OFS
Benoni	Aliwal North	Dundee	Bloemfontein
Germiston	Cape Town	Durban	Heilbron
Johannesburg	Cradock	Eshowe	Jagersfontein
Klerksdorp	East London	Ladysmith	Kroonstad
Pietersburg	Grahamstown	Mapumulo	Ladybrand
Potchefstroom	Kimberley	Newcastle	
Pretoria	Port Elizabeth	Pietermaritzburg	
Springs	Queenstown	Vryheid	
Zoutpansberg	Uitenhage		
	Umtata		

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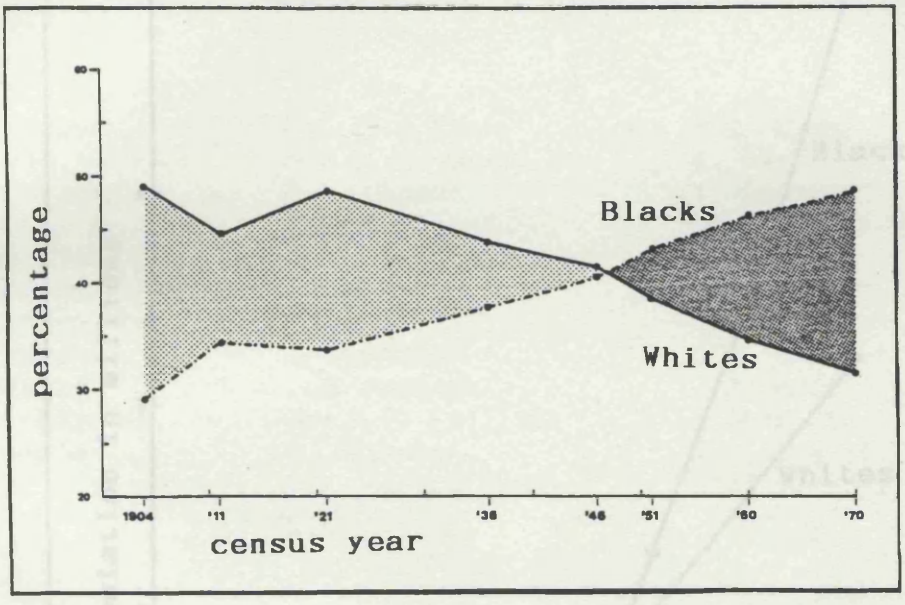
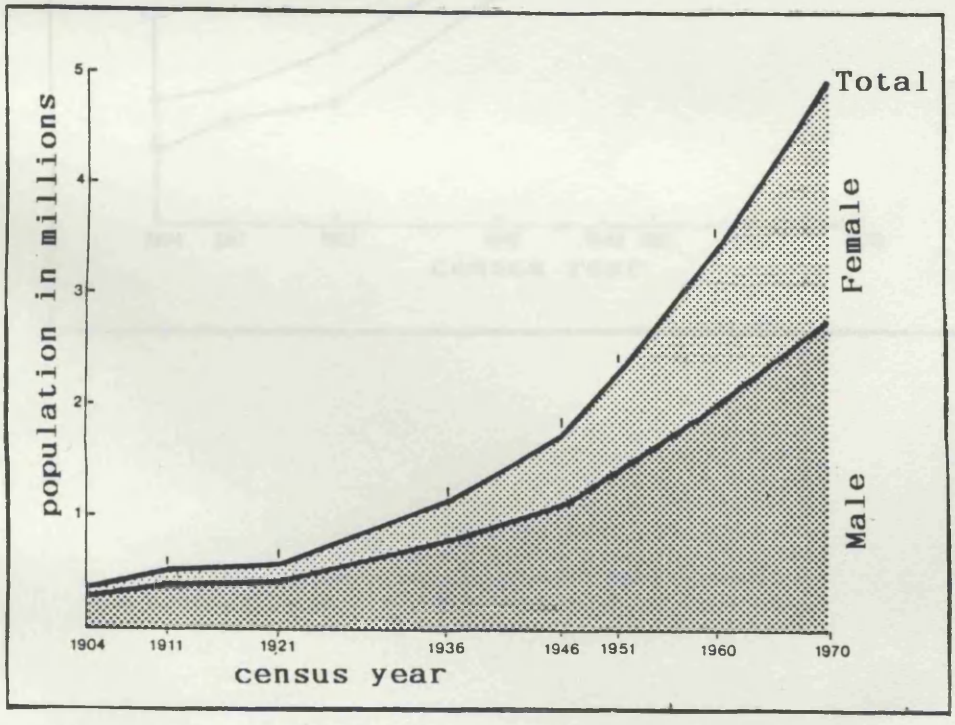
APPENDIX D

Urban White and Black Population as a Percentage of Total Urban Population[1]



Urban Black Population - Male and Female[2]



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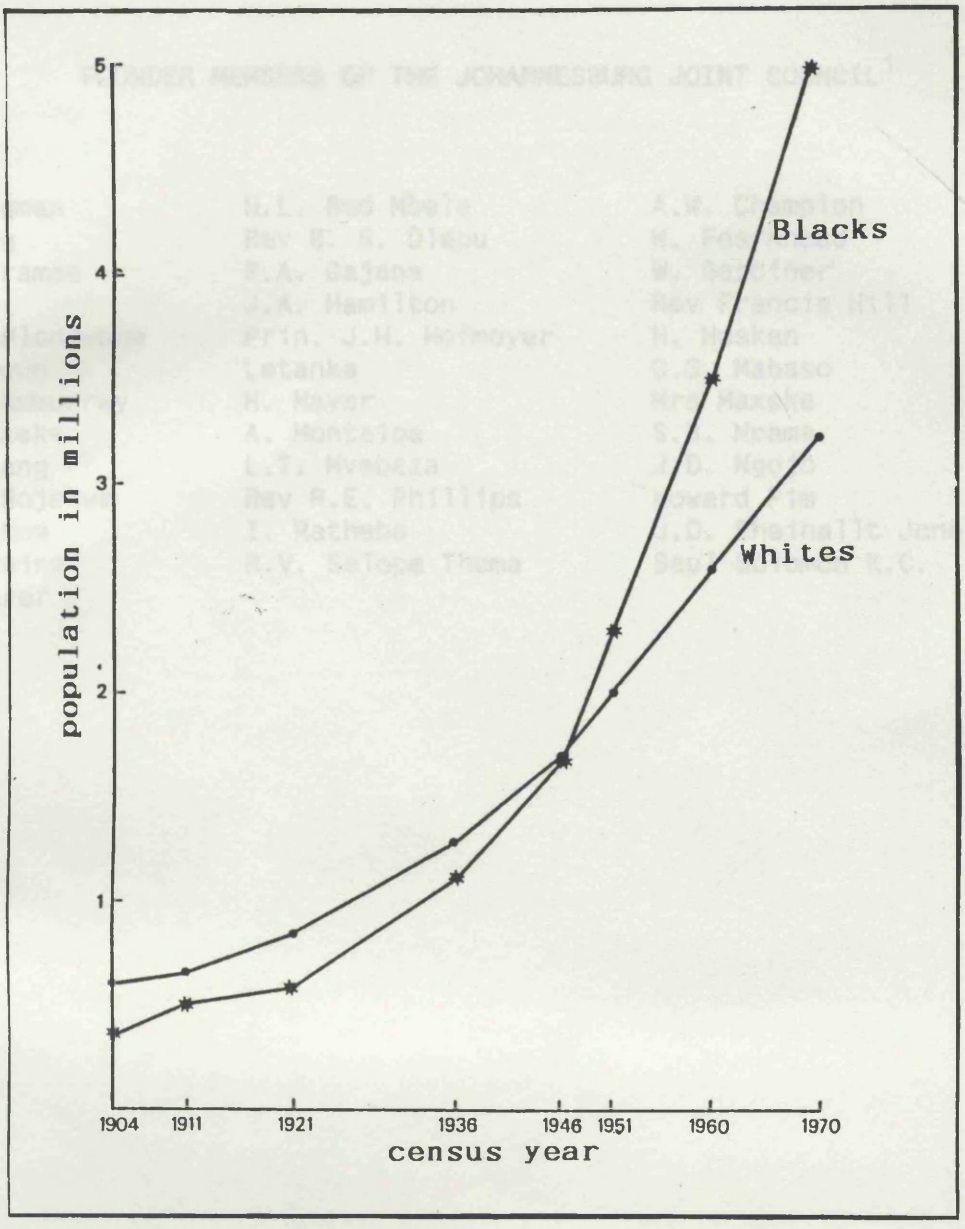
White and Black Urban Population, 1904-1970[1]



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1. Ibid., 39.

APPENDIX E

FOUNDER MEMBERS OF THE JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL[1]

F.B. Bridgman
D.C. Craig
P. Ross Frames
W. Gobu
Rev I.M. Hlongwane
Leonard Howe
Prof J. Macmurray
Rev M. Maxeke
R.W. Msimang
Rev B.D. Nojekwa
S. Rakumakoe
O.D. Schreiner
H.N. Taberer
H.L. Bud Mbele
Rev B. S. Dlepu
P.A. Gajana
J.A. Hamilton
Prin. J.H. Hofmeyer
Letanka
H. Mayer
A. Montsioa
L.T. Mvabaza
Rev R.E. Phillips
I. Rathebe
R.V. Selope Thema
A.W. Champion
W. Fearnhead
W. Gardiner
Rev Francis Hill
H. Hosken
G.S. Mabaso
Mrs Maxeke
S.B. Mpama
J.D. Ngojo
Howard Pim
J.D. Rheinallt Jones
Saul Solomon K.C.

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1. JCR, Cj2.1.1, Rheinallt Jones to A.G. Robertson, 22 September 1921.